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ABSTRACT

Speeches given at the 1978 National Conference of the Teacher Corps are reproduced in this report. These presentations are divided into three general categories--topics of broad interest to educators, trends in education, and the responsibilities of the teacher corps. (JD)

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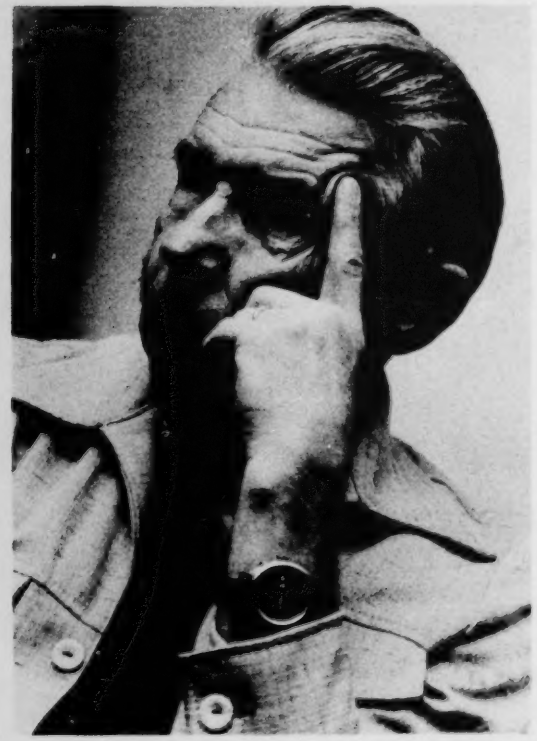
The theme of this conference—and, in fact, of the Teacher Corps—is teaming. It is clear to us that teaming is one of the most important ingredients of this conference. We have set aside time each day during which each local project team can meet in order to reflect, to share conference experiences, and to relate those experiences to the local setting. I would hope that all team members can learn and grow from the teaming session as well as from the conference itself.

William L. Smith
Teacher Corps—Washington



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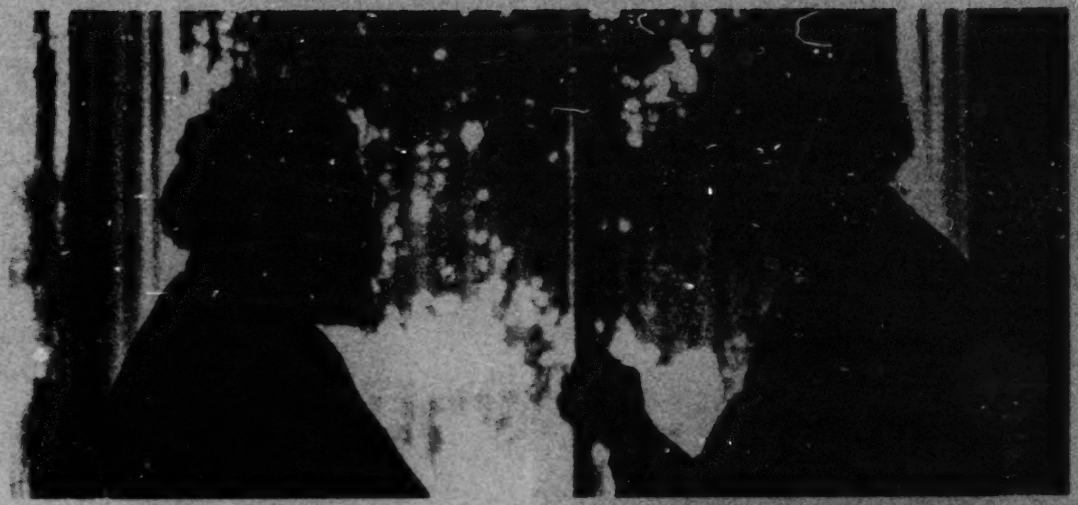
Section One

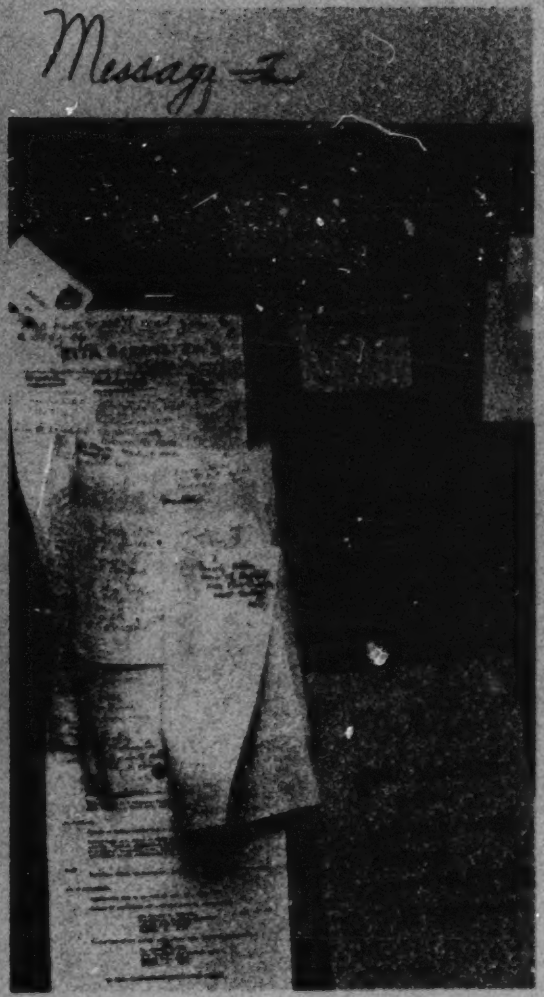
Keynotes

The concept of project teaming was extremely important to the structure of the 1978 national conference. In order to help participants exploit the best that the conference had to offer, each local team met at the conclusion of each day's training in an hour-long teaming session. In that hour, the teams began to debrief, to put their experiences into a context growing from local and national concerns for addressing Teacher Corps goals, and to begin the process of deciding which of the sessions might be of use to the local project. Thus, it was important for each project to plan to systematically cover the conference with the intention of staying with an activity until its conclusion.

James Burry
University of California at Los Angeles

Excerpt from the Conference Evaluation Report

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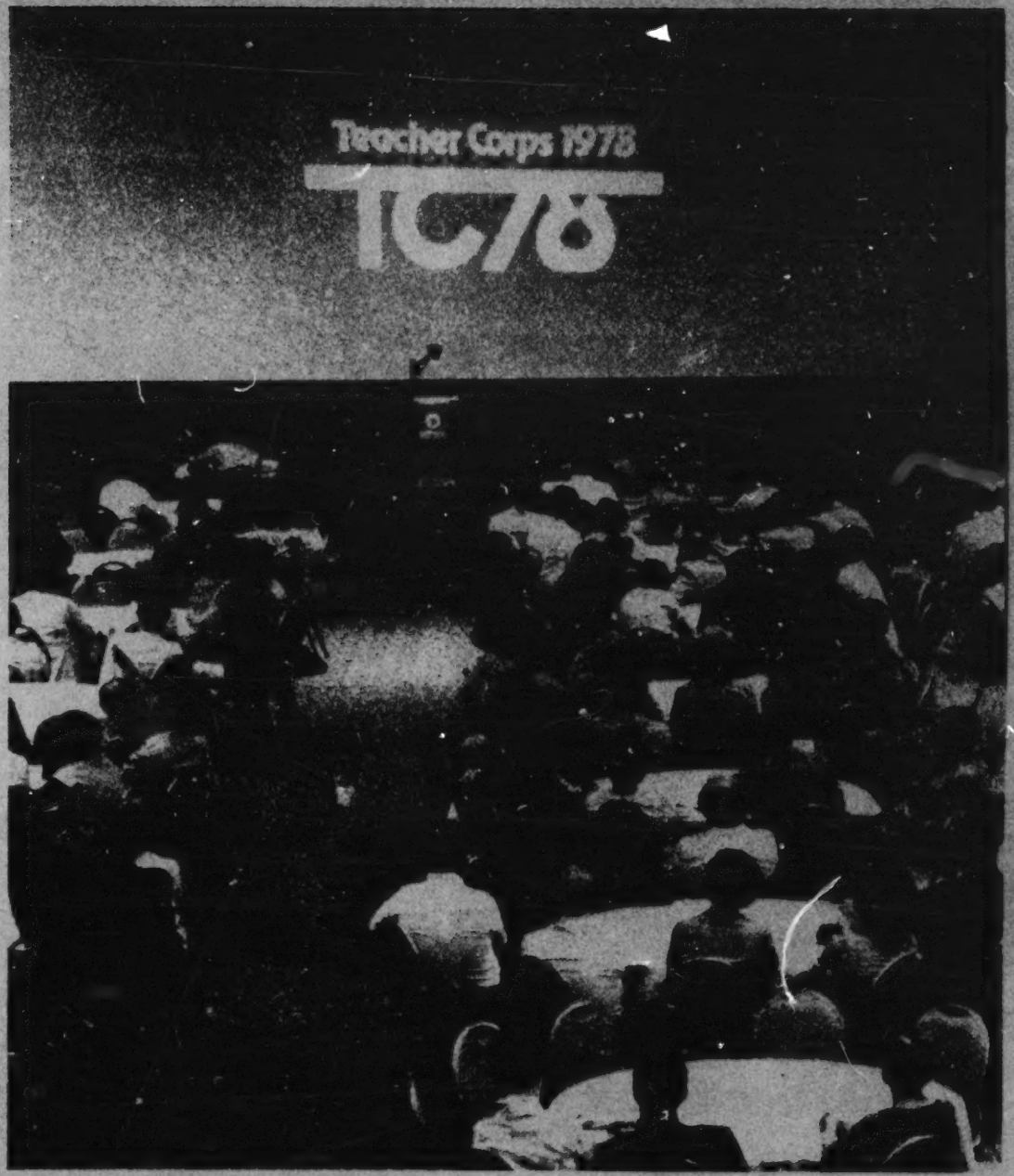

Teacher Corps 1978
TC78

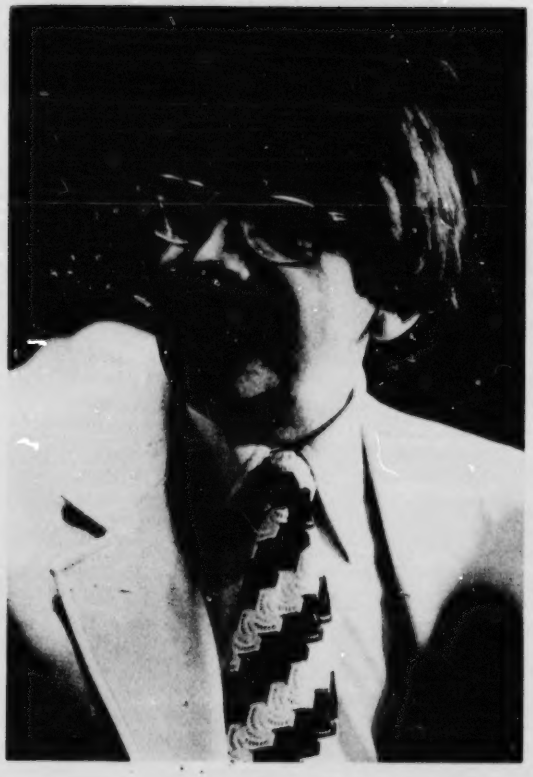
One of Teacher Corps's missions is to demonstrate promising practices, processes, and products for the professional development of educational personnel. Demonstration was traditionally defined as simply a "show and tell" effort, a description of what a project has done. Teacher Corps's definition of demonstration is more complex, however, and involves adaptation, implementation, institutional adoption, and dissemination. That suggests that, in addition to developing, implementing, and institutionalizing an innovation, projects will be responsible for disseminating their demonstration to others.

Each Teacher Corps project, therefore, is a demonstration project. It is of course unlikely that any single project will be able to demonstrate all its practices, processes, and products. Rather, each project will probably identify certain elements to demonstrate.

Lee Morris
Southwest Teacher Corps Network

New Goals for Education

Jack Minzey



New Goals and Educational Change

When we consider new goals for education, we must recognize that we are addressing the issue of change in education. Certainly, too, change has been a dominant theme in the history of the Teacher Corps. I would therefore like to discuss new educational goals in the context of the history of educational change. If we know where we've been, we may find some comfort in where we are going.

We do not have the same school system we had two hundred years ago in this country. Our first school system was the Latin Grammar School. That was instituted here around 1635 and lasted for about a hundred and fifty years. The Latin Grammar School had some very definite characteristics. First, it taught only the basics. Isn't it interesting that we would be talking about the "back to basics" movement almost 350 years later? Students in the Latin Grammar School were taught basic skills because the purpose of that school was to make its students good citizens in a democracy. The only professional training was for ministers, lawyers, and doctors. They had never heard of Arthur Combs in those days; there was nothing in the curriculum about self-improvement of the individual. Latin Grammar School training was needed in the society of the Seventeenth Century; it was needed to make the society function. That was a very elitist school system, and it lasted 150 years; but it changed and faded out.

The American Academy

The Latin Grammar School declined because another group of people said that the schools were not doing what they were supposed to do. That should sound familiar. That wasn't the Silvermans or the Rickovers. That was a man named Benjamin Franklin. Franklin believed the schools should be relevant to the society they were supposed to serve. Franklin helped to develop a new school system, the American Academy, which lasted for about a hundred years. It had some new characteristics: It was middle-class oriented and, interestingly, it was coeducational. That was in 1751.

Local control emerged for the first time in the American Academy, and the Academy was practically oriented toward career education. The American Academy became the closest thing we had ever seen to universal education. But that system didn't last, either. It didn't last because the academy began to do the thing that the Latin Grammar School had done; it began to focus on an elite group of people. It started preparing people *only* to go on to college.

Early Public Education

A third change resulted from the emerging elitism of the American Academy. This change was early public education, which began in the 1820s. The main distinctive characteristic of public schools in the 1820s was the fact that they were free; that was the first time we had free education. As a result, the number of schools in this country grew from 321 to about 2,500 in a period of about 70 years. But early public schools were still far from the schools of today.

The grandfather of today's schools emerged from a very famous Michigan court case called the Kalamazoo Case. In its day, that case was as important as the Brown Decision was in our generation. In 1874, in the Kalamazoo Case, it was decided that everyone in our society should be entitled to a public education, at public expense, through twelfth grade. That decision fostered such growth that we went from 2,500 schools to about 25,000 schools. We have come close to providing universal education.

The point I am making is this: We have had many changes in our schools many times in the past. Changes have occurred when schools have ceased to fulfill the responsibilities which the society delegates to the schools. That has not meant that

what schools have done is all wrong. Most often, it has meant that the schools are not doing enough. We currently seem to find ourselves in just that situation. By the same token, our schools deserve credit for a lot of very good things that they are doing.

The Achievement of Our Schools

Our schools have much to be proud of, although they are now the victims of a great deal of criticism. It's a tough job being a teacher. It's a tough, tough job being a teacher in a big city school; it's a tough, tough, tough job being an administrator. (I have an administrator friend who called Dial-a-Prayer and, when he identified himself, they hung up on him.)

We have much to be proud of. In fact, Henry Steele Commanger correctly said that no other people have demanded so much of education, and no other people have fared so well with their schools. There is some significant support for that statement. For example, we have a higher literacy rate than any nation in history: 78 percent of our population can read and write. Ninety-four percent of our youth between the ages of 14 and 17 are in school; that figure was seven percent in 1890. Seventy-five percent of our young people are graduating from high school. Education is a big enterprise with fantastic potential. It is the major occupation of 64 million people. We spend 130 billion dollars on education annually; that demonstrates a sense of our priorities. Three of every ten people are involved directly in the educational process. About 20 percent of our population has graduated from college. High school graduates will make 300,000 dollars more in their lifetimes than those without a diploma. A college graduate will make 200,000 dollars more than that. Thirty-two percent of our industrial growth is due to education. Individuals get a 25 percent return on their investment in education. Eight percent of our gross national product is a result of education.

There are other achievements, too. Seventy-one

percent of our community members still have a positive attitude toward their schools. That is very, very important. The June 19, 1978, issue of *Education USA* is very encouraging. It reports that, despite the much-publicized taxpayer revolt and complaints about the high cost of education, the public's regard for educational leaders has risen considerably since 1975; educators now rank second only to leaders in medicine, according to a survey by the National Opinion Research Center. About 41 percent of the public polled in that study expressed a great deal of confidence in educators in 1977; that figure is up from 31 percent. Further, the public seems generally satisfied with its local schools. Only four percent of those polled judged their schools inadequate, while general police protection was rated inadequate by eight percent, hospitals by 12 percent, and public transportation by 36 percent. Thus, there are some good things about education, some things which are very satisfying.

Our Educational Hypocrisies

Nonetheless, we have developed a set of educational hypocrisies, things that we educators tell our clients that we believe in, but we do not do, for whatever reason. (Perhaps positive educational change means trying to do the things we say we do, but have not yet done.) For example, we say that the first few years of life are extremely important to the development of attitudes and learning. Yet we provide no educational programs for those under age five, unless the child reaches age five on or before the first day of December. We say children are products of their total environment, and then act as if children's total environment is the school. We know children learn 80 percent of what they learn outside of school, yet we do nothing about that fact. Is that a new idea? Absolutely not. Joseph Hart, writing in 1910, said:

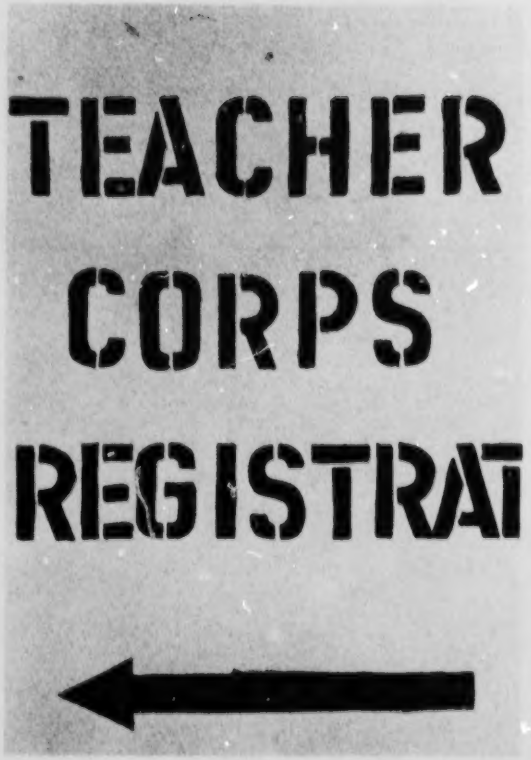
> No child can escape his community. He may not like his parents or the neighbors or the ways of the world. He may groan under the processes of living and wish he were dead, but he goes on living and he goes on living in that community. The life of the community flows about him, foul or pure. He swims in it, drinks it, goes to sleep in it, and it nourishes him or starves him or poisons him. It gives him the substance of his life. And in the long run, it takes its toll of him and all that he is. The democratic problem in education is not primarily a problem of training children; it is the problem of making a community within which children cannot help growing up to be democratic, intelligent, disciplined to freedom, reverent of the goods of life, and eager to share in the tasks of the age. A school cannot produce this result; nothing but a community can do so.

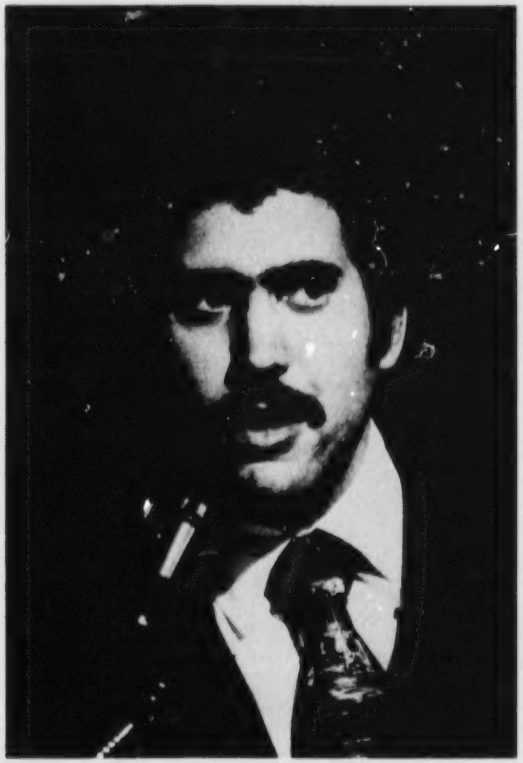
Consider another educational hypocrisy: We have convinced our public of the relationship between education and economic success, and then we deny the opportunity of education to large segments of our society—primarily those over age 18. Fifty percent of the people over 18 in this country do not have a high school diploma. Twenty-two percent of Americans over age 18 are not functionally literate. There is much left to be done; we say that we believe in education for all, but we do not provide it.

The Human Side of Learning

Another hypocrisy: We subscribe to the seven cardinal principles of education, and yet we tend to stress only those goals related to teaching the basic skills. We confuse our audience by using the words "schooling" and "education" synonymously. We deal primarily with cognitive skills, and do little about the human side of learning. The late Walter Reuther said, "In the age of technology we walk with the angels, but in the area of human skills, we are barbarians in dinner jackets." That says a lot about what we are *not* doing.

Speaking of hypocrisies, we have described education as preparation for life, and yet our





schools have lost a great deal of their relevance. We now find ourselves in a democracy struggling against strangulation; in an era marked by confused loyalties in the political realm, by unrest and deprivation, by much unnecessary ill health, by high-pressure propaganda, by war and the threat of war, by many broken or ill-adjusted homes, by foolish spending, by high crime rates, by bad housing, and by a myriad of other urgent human needs. And what are the children in this age, in this culture learning in our high schools? They are learning that the square of the sum of two numbers equals the sum of these squares plus twice the product; that Millard Fillmore was the thirteenth President of the United States and held office from January 10, 1850, to March 4, 1853; that the capital of Honduras is Tegucigalpa; that there were three Punic Wars; that Latin verbs meaning command, obey, please, displease, serve, and resist take the dative; and that a gerund is a neuter verbal noun used in the oblique cases of the singular and governed by the same case as the verb.

Cyclical Change

Now I don't mean to imply that we haven't tried to do something about the hypocrisies I have described. Schools are filled with well-intentioned people who do want to do the right thing. The problem is that we seem to make only limited progress. One of the reasons our progress is limited is the fact that change is cyclical, rather than a series of plateaus, as I used to think.

Changes—supposedly new approaches to education—look more and more the same to me. I can't say how many times vocational and technical education has gone around with a new name. We once had one-room schoolhouses, but someone decided it would be better to put students in grades. Now someone is saying, "Wouldn't it be better if we made schools 'nongraded'?" The "new" concepts of open-space education and cross-age tutoring must certainly be amusing to those who taught in one-room schools and used those very approaches.

We clustered subjects together in the language arts and in the social sciences, in the fused curriculum and the core curriculum. Now, under the rubrics "mini-courses" and "modular scheduling", we are separating subjects again. We used to have libraries, but we got rid of libraries and put all the books in "self-contained classrooms". Now we are taking the books out of the classrooms and putting them in a "media center". In 1837, when we simply had teachers, the State of New York decided to designate one teacher as a principal-teacher, which meant that person had some administrative responsibilities. Now I see New York is toying with the idea of something called a "principal-teacher". I am not against those things; I am just saying that is the kind of thing that keeps us from making progress. I often think maybe educational change is kind of redoing old ideas with new terms.

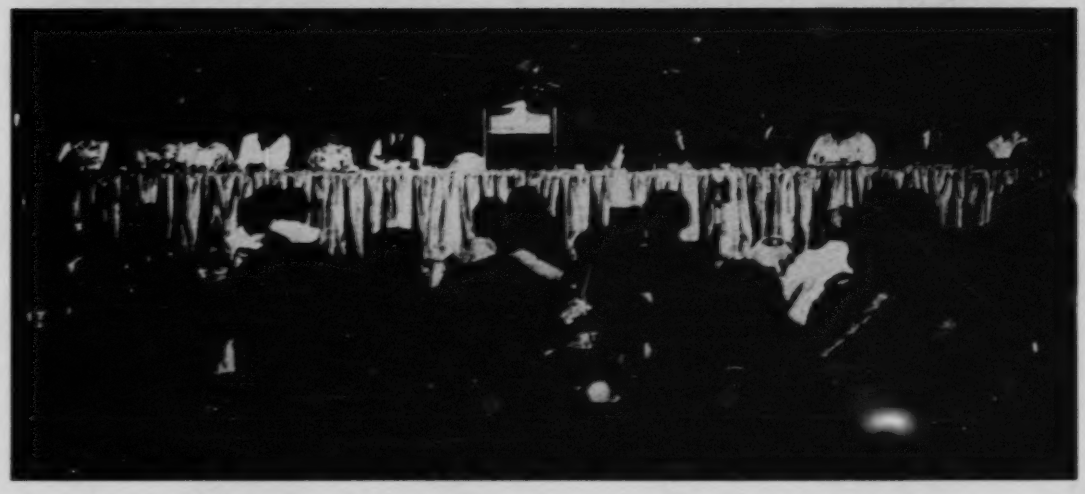
Unfortunately, while some change is circular, many times it is also superficial. We spend a lot of time in education rearranging the furniture. When we talk about change, we should be talking about redesigning structures, not merely the content of structures. We tend to focus our change efforts on the same goals and the same clients. Alvin Toffler said, "Much of our change in education is nothing more than an attempt to make the existing machinery more efficient in the pursuit of obsolete goals." Our change lacks vision, and where there is no vision, we perish.

Educational Dreams

Finally, let's take a moment to dream. I dream that schools might continue to serve the needs of their constituents, but that they would become more relevant to the real needs of society. I dream that schools, with their vast resources and beautiful facilities, will become centers for all community life, that school buildings will become community

The most important aspect of this conference is what you do with the experiences you have had here when you get back home.

William L. Smith
Teacher Corps—Washington



centers which are also used for the education of children. I dream that schools will have programs beyond those they currently offer, so that children and youth might have more time to learn and grow.

I dream that adults will have all the educational opportunities of youth, and that schools will give the benefits of education to all, regardless of their age; that the student body will include all community members. I dream that schools will accept a new responsibility to relate community problems to community resources, so that community needs will be more adequately addressed—that schools will become resource brokers. Finally, I dream that schools will initiate and facilitate community development by helping community-based problem-solving procedures.

Those are my dreams for education. But they are only dreams until we do something to make them happen. As Henry Thoreau said, "If you build castles in the air, your work need not be lost. That is where they should be; now put the foundations under them." We have come a long way in education, but we have a long way to go. Our future will depend upon whether we can maintain our energy for change in the face of reaction by those who would resist such change. Whether we go forward or merely around in another circle will depend upon how well we turn our dreams of education into reality; and how well we turn those dreams into reality will depend upon the motivation, the perceptions, and the energies of groups like the Teacher Corps. For many reasons, both personal and professional, I hope that you are successful.

Jack Minzey is Chairman of the Department of Educational Leadership at Eastern Michigan University.

The Characteristics of Instructionally Effective City Schools

Ron Edmonds

The Importance of Equitable Public Schooling

For me, the issue in public education in the United States is the response that we make to teaching the children of the poor. It is not that I don't care about teaching the children of the middle class or, for that matter, the children of the super-affluent. It's just that I don't think they need people whose concern is providing all children with effective instruction. If we don't succeed in the United States in teaching the children of the poor, we will eventually find that the American experiment in democracy is not going to work. I say that because schooling is the principal instrument of social service in this society; and if we cannot devise a social service that is dramatically more equitable in its response to income and social class than the schools have been so far, then our system has failed. A system as fragile as ours cannot tolerate the kind of poison that derives from inequitable public schooling in general, by insisting that there is no issue in public education that is more critical than the question of the educability and the institutional response to children who are poor, of color, or both.

A Perspective of Social Science Literature

While I will refer to social science literature, I do not mean to suggest for a moment that effective schooling is a social science issue. It is not. The interaction between the social science evaluation of school programs and instructional activities has only the most modest relationship to whether or not our public schools teach children who are poor. Whether or not we teach children who are poor has first, last, and always to do with the politics of educational decision-making; no references to social science literature ought to obscure that fact. It is nonetheless helpful to consider the best available social science literature on assessing school effects.

Weber's Research in New York City

The most important literature on school effects probably starts with Weber, who in the early 1970s analyzed four inner-city schools in New York City. Pupil performance in reading in those schools was unambiguously superior to that which would be predicted on the basis of the income and social-class characteristics of the children enrolled in those schools. More important for our purposes, Weber focused on the characteristics of those four inner-city schools in an effort to both isolate and describe the institutional characteristics that distinguish those schools from others.

Weber found that all four schools had strong leadership; the principal in the school was instrumental in setting the tone, in helping to decide on instructional strategies, in organizing and distributing resources, and by otherwise playing the strong role that we would expect a principal to play.

Second, all four of the schools had high expectations for their students. Despite Weber's disclaimer that high expectations in and of themselves are surely not sufficient to account for an effective school, it is nonetheless true that high expectations are a necessary condition for effectiveness, if not a sufficient condition in themselves. All four of the schools also had an orderly, quiet, and pleasant atmosphere, and all four—most importantly—strongly emphasized pupil acquisition of basic skills above all other school activities. It was made clear in those schools that no other activity in the school was to take precedence over pupil acquisition of basic school skills.

Weber's work certainly says a great deal to those who wish to develop effective schools, and was confirmed for the most part by the 1974 New York State Office of Education Performance Review. That office published a study which identified two inner-city New York City schools, both of which were serving an analogous, predominantly poor, pupil population. One of the schools was unambiguously

high-achieving. The other was predictably low-achieving—at least predictably on the basis of the normal interaction in the United States between pupil performance on the one hand and income and social class as an aggregate characteristic of the school population on the other. Both schools were studied and analyzed very carefully in an attempt to do what Weber had done: To isolate and identify the distinguishing characteristics that accounted for the fact that one of those schools was unusually successful, while the other was predictably unsuccessful.

For our purposes, the major finding of that study was that the differences between the two schools were to be found in characteristics that were entirely under the control of the two schools. That is, effective schools are not accounted for by pupils' family backgrounds. Pupil performance does not in the first instance have its origin in family background; it has its origin in school's response to family background.

The Brookover-Lasant Study in Michigan

Following up Weber and the New York study is a study entitled "Changes in School Characteristics Coincident with Changes in Student Achievement", which is the 1977 Brookover-Lasant study of elementary schools. Brookover and Lasant were invited by the Michigan Department of Education to identify a set of schools which were shown by the data since the early 1970s to be consistently improving or consistently declining in pupil acquisition of basic skills. It was also stipulated that the schools studied have sufficient numbers of poor pupils enrolled to shed light on the relationships between socioeconomic status and achievement. Brookover and Lasant chose to pick eight schools which were quite unambiguous; six were consistently improving in pupils'—most especially poor children's—acquisition of basic school skills. Two of the schools were consistently declining, in the same sense that all of their students were declining,

The conference planning teams have worked long and hard to produce the quality conference program that the Teacher Corps seeks and deserves. This is a field-based conference, and has sought and used the skills and knowledge of Teacher Corps people from throughout the country. Thus, as I welcome you to the conference, I would also like to thank you for helping us to make it what it is.

Floyd Waterman
University of Nebraska at Omaha

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although (as one might have predicted) the children who were poor declined even more than those who were middle class.

Stress on Basic Skills

Brookover and Lasant provided great insight into the characteristics that distinguished the declining schools from the improving schools. First, they found that the improving schools were clearly different from the declining schools in the emphasis their staffs placed on the accomplishment of basic reading and math objectives. The improving schools accepted and emphasized the importance of those goals, while the declining schools did not. Second, there was a clear contrast in the evaluations made by principals and teachers of the students in the improving and declining schools. The staffs in the improving schools tended to believe that all of their students could master their basic educational objectives and, furthermore, the teachers perceived that the principal shared this belief. The opposite—or very nearly the opposite—was true in the declining schools.

Expectations of Achievement

Third, the staff in the improving schools held decidedly higher expectations with regard to the educational accomplishments of their students; the contrary was true for the declining schools. Further, in contrast to the declining schools, teachers and principals in the improving schools were much more likely to assume responsibility for teaching basic reading and math skills, and were much more committed to doing so. Staffs in the declining schools felt that there was not much teachers could do to teach children who are poor, of color, or both; they therefore tended to displace the responsibility onto parents or the students themselves.

Fourth, Brookover and Lasant found that, since the teachers in the declining schools believed there was little they could do to influence the learning of basic skills, they spent less time in direct reading instruction than do teachers in the improving schools. Fifth, there seemed to be a clear difference between the principal's role in the improving schools and that in the declining schools. In the improving schools, principals were more likely to be instructional leaders, to be more assertive in that leadership role, to be stronger disciplinarians, and, perhaps most important of all, to assume overall responsibility for the evaluation of the entire school building's achievements vis-a-vis its basic objectives.

Sixth, the improving school staffs appeared to accept the concept of accountability more than did those in the declining schools. The improving schools were further along in the development of accountability models, while the declining schools resisted such development altogether. Seventh, the researchers found that teachers in the improving schools were less satisfied than were the staffs in the declining schools.

The eighth finding is a very important, although ambiguous, point: On the face of it, there did not seem to be a dramatic difference in the levels of parent involvement in the two sets of schools. But there was this difference: Parent involvment in the improving schools seemed for the most part to be parent-initiated; parent involvement in the declining schools seemed for the most part to be teacher-initiated. The difference there is the difference between the teacher initiating contact with the family in order to complain about the child's behavior, and parents initiating contact with the school in order either to discuss matters or to convey parental wishes. That is an important difference; the question of who initiates parent-school interaction turns out to be a more critical variable than the level of parental participation in school affairs.

Finally, Brookover and Lasant found that, in general, the improving schools were neither characterized by a high emphasis on paraprofessional staff, nor a heavy involvement of regular teachers in the selection of students to be placed in compensatory education programs. That

is, those schools did not have that stereotypical phenomenon through which a teacher can identify troublesome students and get rid of them by the simple device of designating them eligible for some compensatory or special program. Clearly, that study has important implications for our schools.

Further Research in Michigan

My own work also has some bearing on this area. I am responsible for a project entitled, "Search for Effective Schools". Our identification and analysis of city schools that are instructionally effective for poor children began in 1973, and we published our first study of the early data in September, 1974. We studied the 20 elementary schools in Detroit's model cities neighborhood and analyzed the math and reading levels in the schools. We were consequently able to identify some schools that were more instructionally effective than others. We also matched a set of what we call effective schools against a set of ineffective schools in an attempt to identify the difference between those two sets.

Following that, we identified five schools in Lansing, Michigan. Those five schools have, for at least the last three years, abolished the correlation between pupil performance and family background. The five schools enroll substantial numbers of children who are poor, but it is not possible to identify the children who are poor solely on the basis of their achievement data. (And, in the normal course of events, if one wants to analyze social-class characteristics of pupils in a heterogenous school, one does not need data on family background; data on achievement are sufficient, since it turns out that the children who do worst are the most poor, and the children who do best are the least poor. And the more one aggregates the data, the more that turns out to be true.)

The Importance of School Climate

What conclusions can we draw from the studies I have cited? What distinguishes effective schools from ineffective schools? First, what effective schools share more than anything else is a climate in which it is incumbent on all personnel in the school to be instructionally effective for all pupils. In my judgment, there are very few schools like that in the United States, and there never have been. It is, then, a question of climate; that is not a very profound conclusion. It is, however, a sufficient beginning; it helps to pursue the questions, What is the origin of a climate of responsiveness? Where is it sustained? What causes it to remain or to dissipate? The answers are mixed.

Some of the effective schools that we found are that way because they have a principal who tyrannizes the teachers and compels them to do his bidding—and he bids them to be effective for every student in the school. I do not recommend that, but there are effective schools that are effective precisely because of a principal's tyranny.

Some schools are effective because they have a self-generating corps of teachers that has decided, among itself, for its own reasons, that they are going to be effective for all of the students. Our research shows that such self-generating groups are capable of converting almost everyone who joins their faculty. Some schools are effective because they have a highly politicized Parent Teacher Association. Some schools are effective because they have a superintendent with missionary zeal. And on and on the story goes.

All Children Can Learn

The truth is that the characteristics that distinguish effective from ineffective schools are neither very simple nor very straightforward. At the same time, those characteristics are neither so lofty nor so esoteric as one might ordinarily be led to believe. The simple truth is that most children in the United States are not merely educable; they are easily educable. And the reason that poor children in the United States do not do well in school is not because those children are not capable of learning in a variety of ways; it is because we are capable of teaching in ways that effectively prevent almost anybody from learning almost anything.

That really means that an educator does not have to be a superman or a superwoman in order to participate in devising and sustaining an instructionally effective school for children who are poor. It merely means that we must be serious about it. We cannot allow anything to obscure what it is we set out to do. I am not talking here about a theory; I am not talking about an abstraction. I am talking about the fact that there actually exist substantial numbers of schools in the United States that function day after day in doing exactly the sorts of things that we would like to see schools do for all children. We can, whenever and wherever we choose, successfully teach all children whose schooling is of interest to us. We already know more than we need to know in order to create and sustain effective schools for all children. Whether or not we do that must finally depend upon how we feel about the fact that we have not done it so far.

Ron Edmonds is Senior Assistant to the Chancellor for Instruction, New York City Board of Education.

The Resource Exchange Rationale

Seymour Sarason

The Historical Perspective

The problems that we are now grappling with in education cannot be understood unless we look at them from a historical perspective. Let us begin our look backward by recognizing the obvious fact that, until World War II, the schools willingly accepted—and in fact protected—their responsibility for educating pupils. The schools said, "Send us your children; we will do our thing. Others should more or less stay out of the business of education."

That attitude was not peculiar to educators; it was peculiar to professionals as a group. Professionals did not feel it was appropriate to share their responsibility with the community on a day-to-day basis. Our centers of higher education were responsible for providing a pool of people to fill the professions. The universities were our credentialing agencies. Even in public schools, teachers had very little input into educational policy-making or the functioning of the schools. That was not so many years ago. That picture should conjure up in our minds a walled conclave in which well-intentioned professionals were determining—by themselves—the bulk of educational policy. That means they were determining the nature and quality of education. That was not the ideal situation.

The Gulf Between Schools and Universities

The attitude of our centers of education did not help matters. The department of liberal arts and sciences never regarded teaching as a profession, and never wanted education to be part of our colleges and universities. For a long time, teacher preparation was housed elsewhere, in so-called normal schools. There was thus a deliberately-created gulf—a gulf created by the colleges and universities—between the centers of higher learning and the schools. Of course, schools of education did begin to be developed early in this century, but, not surprisingly, the schools of education developed certain stances which bore some startling resemblances to the snobbish attitudes of other parts of the colleges and universities. Let me support my contention: Who in our schools of education spent how much time in classrooms? Who in our schools of education supervised student teachers? Who attempted to learn about the everyday, minute-to-minute, hour-by-hour problems of teachers and others who populate our schools? The higher they were on the professional ladder, the less people really had anything to do, in a first-hand fashion, with what was going on in our schools. That is a brief, over-simplified history, of course, but it does describe essential relationships between communities and schools on the one hand, and universities and schools on the other.

Forging New Relationships

Certain events after World War II began to change those relationships; efforts were made to forge new relationships among our universities, our communities, and our schools. The schools, in fact, became a stage in our society on which a lot of people wanted to be actors. Two major factors brought this about; both were symptomatic of larger societal changes. One of those changes was the 1954 desegregation decision, which focused on the schools. The other was the orbiting of the Russian Sputnik satellite, which led those in colleges and universities to say that they had known all along that our schools were deficient in a number of respects. They said that we had fallen behind the Russians, that we had become Avis to Hertz, and that it was time for our universities and colleges to really enter the educational fray, and to use their accumulated knowledge and wisdom to tell the field of education how it should do things. As a result, we saw new math and new geology and physics and new social studies. We also saw once again that the more needs change, the more they remain the same.

It was a time when the world of education was divided between heroes and villains. The heroes

were the university faculties, who were going to provide the ideas and concepts to transform our schools. It did not bother the university people that they knew little about what schools were about, little or nothing about the culture of the schools, and nothing about theories of change. They saw the schools as a decaying institution, one that needed invigoration—and college and university faculties were going to provide that stimulus. The villains, of course, were teachers, who were ill-trained and not so bright. The villains were administrators, who got paid without doing anything—except building obstacles. The villains were various assumptions held by educators about the subject matter. The victims, of course, were students.

Needed: Money . . . or Simply Resources?

The process of increased university involvement in schools resulted in a superficially closer relationship between universities and schools. In fact, there was more appearance than reality in that relationship. Nonetheless, everyone seemed to agree on one thing: the need for more money. We could not transform the schools without increasing expenditures. (I might parenthetically add that that is one symptom of the disease of professionalism. In that disease, professionals define a problem in such a way as to require more professionals for its solution, thereby rendering a problem utterly unsolvable. I do not want to be interpreted as saying that money is not a problem and is not necessary. I *do* want to be understood as saying that spending more will not in itself achieve more of our objectives.)

Turning from the relationships between schools and universities to those between schools and communities, we see that some people early-on realized that one of the things wrong with our American educational system was its isolation from the community. Consider, for example, the experimental schools program, which was funded at many, many millions of dollars. That program suggested that schools, universities, and communities each have

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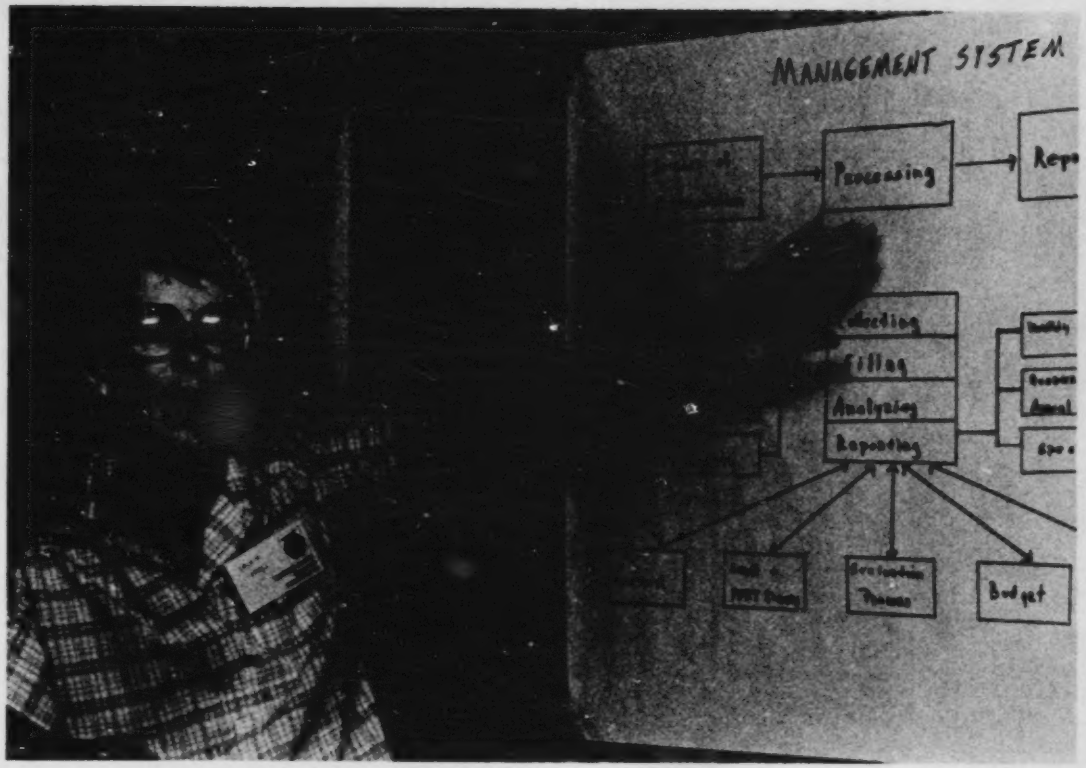
MANAGEMENT SYSTEM
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something to offer the educational process and we should therefore fund the community for one thing, the schools for another, and the universities for something else. We thus needed a funding mechanism and policy that allowed us to get each of those elements together so that they might comprehensively attack the problems of the schools.

I have just read the evaluation of the experimental schools program in manuscript form, and that is not a pleasant document at all. It is another example of money as the carrot that attracted colleges, some segments of the community, and, of course, the schools. As long as there was money, people talked to each other. They even sometimes worked with each other. When the money was gone, somehow or other, relationships were not maintained, except in some rare instances. Money cannot be the carrot for cooperation.

I would like to suggest that the major problem in American education is the way in which we define resources. Let me illustrate that point. About six years ago, I wanted to develop a complete department of psychology in a high school. Several high schools were very, very eager for us to do that in their building. They were eager because they envisioned a bunch of shrinks coming in to work with students who didn't come to school, or with those who came to school but stayed in the halls instead of going to class. But we said, "No. If those people want to come and take our course, fine. But our courses must be open to everyone." I should point out that we were going to teach various courses in psychology, but the teachers selected would be undergraduate and graduate students from Yale University.

Benefits Without Cost

It worked beautifully. The students not only did their job well in the classrooms, but they were also used by other teachers and other schools in a variety of ways. The point is this: It had not occurred to any of those schools to come to Yale University, which is a part of the community, and to say, "You have something that we think we need. And maybe we have something that you need. Is there a way that we can arrange for some kind of exchange which does not depend on money?" What we did helped Yale, the schools, *and* the students in both places. But it required no money at all.

My point is that we define resources as those things which we can buy and therefore control. I would like to suggest that that is the beginning of the problem. We define resources in an extremely narrow way, a way with which we are familiar, a way which doesn't threaten us. For example, teachers have been victims of learned helplessness; teachers have been taught over the years that there are people in the outside world who are available to help them, if there is some way to *buy* their services. Teachers tend not to see themselves as resources that can be bartered or exchanged.

We should define resources by asking, Who has things that we need? What do we have that the other person may need? On what basis can we put our resources together? Unfortunately, at the present time, the relationships between colleges, schools, and communities are based to a large extent on money; new money has been brought into those institutions in a well-intentioned attempt to forge new relationships. I would like to suggest that we should not expect too much from those kinds of incentives. One does not change institutional stances and patterns easily. I am not sure I know how to do it. I am fairly confident that the ways in which we have tried to change stances and patterns in the past have been relatively unsuccessful, far more unsuccessful than any of us like to admit.

Helping Teachers Redefine Resources

We must help teachers, assuming we can do it, not only to learn how to redefine resources, but also how to locate resources either within or outside the schools. We must literally expand the arena in which we look for resources, and, if we do that, we can give teachers more help than we have given them in the past. More correctly, we can help teachers to locate resources themselves; in the past, there has been a tendency to make teachers dependent on others for the location of resources. But, unless those who populate our schools transform them, no attempt from the outside will ever be successful. Thus, one of the most important things we can do for teachers is to put the responsibility for redefining and locating resources on them—not because we are abdicating our responsibility, but because, if teachers can learn to do that for themselves, they are on the road to transforming our schools.

Seymour Sarason is Professor of Psychology at Yale University.

Citations to Outstanding Educators:

Paul W. Briggs, Byron W. Hansford, and Ralph Waldo Emerson Jones

24 *The Teacher Corps has chosen to thank educators who have made outstanding contributions to our field. The recognition of such educators is expressed in three citations which were presented at the 1978 National Developmental Conference. Those citations follow.*

Paul W. Briggs

This citation is presented to you, Paul W. Briggs, for your sterling contribution to American education in your exemplary service to American children and youth. You have stimulated, designed, and implemented educational improvements of major proportions which for many generations will significantly enrich the lives of those served by your schools.

You have insisted upon excellence in teaching while actively encouraging innovation in teacher preparation. Your patient tutelage of numerous aspiring school administrators has been the key ingredient in their success. Staunch, articulate advocacy of the rights of all children and youth has characterized your more than 40 years of enlightened educational statesmanship. You have brought hope to the disadvantaged through your forthright effective leadership in affirmative action.

Teacher Corps proudly salutes you, a compassionate teacher, creative administrator, and inspiring executive. We reaffirm our commitment to your goals and ours that education must make the human condition humane.

Byron W. Hansford

This citation is presented to you in recognition of your long and distinguished career in education. For over four decades as a classroom teacher, school administrator, university professor, state superintendent of instruction, and as executive director of the Council of Chief State School Officers, you have provided a standard of vision, courage, and decisive leadership for your peers and the public at-large. Your unswerving commitment to improve public education at all levels and your tireless efforts to improve the quality of public school teachers and administrators have found final fruition in the accomplishments of the people who have come under your influence.

Among the multitude of your achievements, you can note with pride and a deep sense of pioneering achievement the creation of such programs as the International Study Programs and Summer Institutes for State Department of Education Personnel. You have not only dealt effectively with immediate issues of public education at various times in your career, but you have also with vision and persistence initiated programs dealing with alternative educational futures of this country and made to flourish timely and effective organizations such as the Education Commission of the States. Teacher Corps proudly hails you as a distinguished educator, a cherished friend, and a colleague.

Ralph Waldo Emerson Jones

This citation is presented to you, Ralph Waldo Emerson Jones, for your outstanding contribution in building Grambling State University into a nationally and internationally recognized institution of higher education. You have devoted over 50 years of your life to this single institution as teacher, athletic mentor, dean, and chief administrator. Moreover, for 42 years, you as president provided the executive, administrative, and inspirational leadership which charted Grambling's impressive achievements.

If one of your many innovations stands apart from all others, it is the creation of the unique field service unit designed to respond to fundamental needs of rural Louisiana in the early years of teacher education. Imbued with your spirit and commitment to service, Grambling graduates expanded the knowledge and comprehension of the people of Louisiana in agriculture, nutrition, and health. Indeed, reflective of your personal guidance and counsel, Grambling graduates are enjoying distinguished careers in all walks of life in the American mainstream, not the least of which is in the field of professional athletic endeavor.

But your real contribution is as an outstanding educator and humanitarian whose burning interest has been in the people you personally touched and in the people they touch. You made human service a living, breathing, concept. The Teacher Corps proudly salutes you as a builder of an American institution.

The International Year of the Child

Jean Childs Young

Reflections on Cycle I

My first experience with the Teacher Corps was as a Team Leader in the program's first cycle. At the time the Teacher Corps came to Atlanta, Georgia, in the 1960s, there was great social upheaval going on in this country, especially in the South. The concept of a Teacher Corps was in fact somewhat revolutionary in Atlanta. The local project's plan was to use this innovative teacher training program to help integrate the city's public schools. We were concerned exclusively with training teachers in early childhood education in our project. We were a unique team in several ways: The Interns had not majored in education; they were Black, Anglo, and Asian; they came from all sectors of the country; and there were even men in the program preparing to be kindergarten teachers.

Those were the days of demonstrations and marches and protests. I participated in many of those events, and there was great resistance to change. So it was with some qualms that I entered a previously all-white school and neighborhood as a Team Leader. The school sat in the midst of a public housing project in an area which few Blacks visited.

The experience, though, was incredible. The community people were responsive and respectful to us as professionals. There was a certain admiration and awe for the teacher in those days, and our greatest obstacles were frequently administrators and some of the less imaginative teachers. I had a very good two years, and children, Team Leaders, Interns, college instructors, and school personnel—all of us—grew in the process.

A Trying Episode

But there was one instance in which I wondered if we really were going to make it; I wondered if perhaps I was losing the battle in guiding the Interns on my team. We were working with a group of predominantly Anglo kindergarten children, and had determined that it was very important for those children to hear about great people, regardless of their color. That was a new idea in that school, and one Intern had done a marvelous job with a science lesson focusing on George Washington Carver. The children had done experiments with peanuts and had grown their own little plants; they had learned a great deal about a great man.

The young Intern also distributed an outline drawing of Dr. Carver in his laboratory, and told the children they could color the picture. The children discussed the fact that plants are generally green, and Dr. Carver's coat was probably white, and began coloring. Then the Intern suggested that they would probably want to use brown to color his skin because Dr. Carver was a Negro. The children became absorbed in their task, and were all bent over their pictures busily at work. Suddenly, one little blond girl in the midst of coloring her picture looked incredulously at the Intern and said, "Miss Jones, are we making a nigger?"

The Intern was totally unprepared for that question, and tried to ignore it. The child persisted, "Am I making a nigger?" The young Intern, still flustered, stammered, "No. Yes. Well, it's the same thing." At that point I gently explained to the child that there was a great difference and firmly escorted the Intern to my office for an intense discussion.

That experience taught me that it is very easy to reinforce the innocence and faulty perceptions of a child. As teachers, we are entrusted with an incredible task, and our value and respect for other people must be so secure that we leave no doubt in the mind of the child that we *do* know the difference between a derogatory name and a name which imparts dignity to an individual or a group.

The International Year of the Child

That is a great lesson for all of us. Understanding and respect for each person must be the foundation for all our human relationships, and children must be helped to learn those values. Indeed, children are our greatest resource, and the International

The truth is that most children in the United States are not merely educable; they are easily educable. And the reason that poor children in the United States do not do well in school is not because those children are not capable of learning in a variety of ways; it is because we are capable of teaching in ways that effectively prevent almost anybody from learning almost anything.

Ron Edmonds
New York City Board of Education

Year of the Child is intended to focus the attention of all the world on that resource.

There are 1,510,000,000 children in the world today. A great majority of those children will experience hunger, disease, and poverty as a way of life. Many others will encounter other serious problems created by industrialized society, including problems of drug and alcohol abuse, preteen pregnancy, mental health, disrupted family life, child suicide, and legal offenses. The fact that children suffer such problems in all parts of the world caused a group of concerned citizens to examine how those issues could best be drawn to the attention of the world. The United Nations was seen as the body best suited to alert the world to the needs of its children. Consequently, in December, 1976, the U.N. General Assembly passed a resolution inviting all countries "to mobilize support for national and local programs (for children) according to each country's conditions, needs, and priorities."

Secretary General Kurt Waldheim has stated that that resolution represents a mandate for each country to look at its own children, to examine its own needs, and to construct its own solutions and contributions to solving the problems of children. There will be no international conference for the Year of the Child, nor will there be a world plan of action, but the International Year of the Child, 1979, was born. To date, 144 countries have accepted the invitation and have committed themselves to the goals of the International Year of the Child.

U.S. Participation in the Year of the Child

In order to begin preparation for the United State's observance of the International Year of the Child, the President has established a national commission to be composed of four members of Congress and 24 private citizens. The President formally announced U.S. participation in the Year of the Child on June 28, 1978. On that occasion, the President stated:

Last year we had a million children whose rights were abused, who suffered physical abuse from their parents. We have 10 million children who have never had any medical help at all, and about half the children in this country have never even seen a dentist. I would hope that next year, as the world focuses its attention upon children, that all of us could become much more knowledgeable about the needs, much more willing to assume responsibility for correcting and meeting those needs, and that we might in a positive way assess the unique opportunity to broaden the horizon of growth and enjoyment and the productivity of our children's lives, both now and in the future. It is a sobering prospect to know that perhaps once in a lifetime we have an opportunity to focus attention on such a neglected group in the world's population.

On the very same day, the late Pope Paul VI affirmed the value of children when he stated:

> In order to fulfill its aim, this year is devoted to promoting the inestimable value of the child in today's world. The child is a child, a human person, and not simply a potential adult. Childhood is an essential phase of human life, and every child has the right to live childhood to the fullest and to make an original contribution to the humanizing of society and to its development and renewal.

Over 200 national voluntary labor, industrial, civic, professional, and local groups have also endorsed the International Year of the Child and have asked to work with the U.S. National Commission during this year. Such groups have worked for many years in their own communities to improve the lives of their children. To them a National Commission is a focal point which enables them to voice their concerns and to strengthen their capacity to assist families and children in their communities. The National Commission will provide the opportunity for a variety of groups to combine their resources and capacities in order to impact more significantly on the problems they seek to remedy and the conditions which they desire to improve.

Children's Right to a Free Education

Education has a unique role to play in ensuring that children receive their due in our society. The United Nations set forth a Declaration of the Rights of the Child in 1959, and was very explicit when it said children have a right to free education. The Declaration did not say "free schooling" or "opportunity for education"; it said "a right to free education". Now, 20 years later, we are facing problems of low standardized-test scores, the rise in illiteracy, school dropouts and pushouts, violence in the schools, and the desertion of public schools by middle-class families. We now must raise the basic question: Do we have free education? Are our children being educated, or are they only attending school? These issues must be addressed by public education, by university and college people, by students, by parents, and by communities. It is highly appropriate that educators remember their ultimate clients—children—not only during this very special year, but also on every day of their working lives.

"... A New Value for Our Children ..."

The International Year of the Child is not, however, only concerned with identifying the glaring deficiencies and problems within our society. The U.S. Commission also wishes to create a new value for our children. We want to enjoy them. We want to celebrate childhood and all its incredible beauty. We want to engage in new experiences with our children and learn to express our love for them. We want to highlight their achievements and to glory in their accomplishments. We want to recognize their ability and to stress all the positive things that are happening among our children and our youth. We want to learn to love and appreciate children for the diverse and varied cultures that they represent throughout the world. And we want all to know the beauty of this diversity.

I am excited about the possibility of accomplishing these goals. I am optimistic that, through our participation in the worldwide concern for children, we will discover we are better people. I hope we will discover that we can make the world a better place for children everywhere.

Jean Childs Young is Chairperson of the United States National Commission of the International Year of the Child.

The Education of Women: Protection or Liberation?

Rita Bornstein

Social Expectations and Individual Achievement

A number of years ago Margaret Mead studied a tribe in New Guinea called the Arapesh. According to Mead, the Arapesh believe that only a child born with an umbilical cord around its neck will become an accomplished artist. And, as predicted, that is indeed what happens. When others try to become artists, they are unsuccessful. In this way, social expectations among the Arapesh have a great influence on individual achievement.

Our culture is sophisticated enough to recognize that artistic achievement is not contingent upon the umbilical cord. However, we do continue to predict an individual's future achievement on the basis of other accidents of birth, such as anatomy or color. Specifically, our expectations for women and minorities have limited those groups to a narrow range of behaviors and opportunities, despite our professed ideal of equality. Indeed, the socialization and education of women in our culture inhibit the full development of their potential.

Deprivation, Oppression, Paternalism

The history of women in American society is a sorry record of deprivation and oppression, perpetrated in the guise of protection. In the Seventeenth Century, it was said that girls needed to study geography only for the purpose of finding their way around the house, and chemistry only so that they would know how to keep the pot boiling. How far have we come from the paternalism inherent in that statement? How far do we have to go to provide an education that will liberate women from those narrow expectations?

Let us begin to answer those questions by looking backward. In 1872, the Supreme Court issued the following prescription for the lives of women: "The natural and proper timidity and delicacy which belongs to the female sex unfits it for many of the occupations of civil life." In the early Nineteenth Century, it was almost impossible for women to get any education. Schools accepted girls only in the summer, when classrooms were vacant because the boys were needed to work on the family farms. A girl's curriculum consisted of handwriting, drawing, embroidery, music, dancing, a little French, and some religious reading. Slave girls, of course, along with slave boys, were forbidden any instruction. No colleges accepted women, and for decades there was a continuing debate among educators, doctors, and the general public as to whether women were strong enough to withstand the rigors of a college education. It was said that the strain of learning would make a woman sterile.

Law schools refused to admit women in the late 1800s because "women had not the mentality to study law", and because coeducational classes would be an "injurious diversion of the attention of the students". When women were finally admitted to law and medical schools, quotas were imposed. Until 1945, the quota for women at most medical schools was about five percent. Oberlin was the first college to admit women, late in the Nineteenth Century. In addition to their studies, female students washed the men's clothes, cleaned the men's rooms, served the men meals, and listened to the men's speeches. Those women were not being prepared for careers, but to be more intelligent wives and mothers.

Undereducated, Unemployed, Undervalued

This desire to protect women from the rigors of civic, economic, and political life has kept them undereducated, underemployed, and undervalued. Certainly our history does not reveal a serious commitment to the education of women for full, responsible citizenship. The history of women in America, although absent from most texts, is a necessary backdrop to any discussion of the current status of women. It seems almost impossible now to believe that women were, in recent history, chattels of their husbands, with no legal control over their own earnings, children, or property.

Protection and Privilege

It is interesting to note that those individuals and groups today which oppose the Equal Rights Amendment do so, in part, on grounds that women need special protection. The specious notions of protection and privilege have prevented educators from training girls in the same way they have trained boys. Women have not been educated for responsibility, or work, or power; they are taught to restrain their intellectual and physical proclivities. This teaching is not codified in teacher training textbooks; it is embedded in centuries of custom, and we pass it on mindlessly from generation to generation. Elsie Clews Parsons, an anthropologist in the early 1900s, said, "Women work very hard to live down to what is expected of them."

The characteristics we cultivate in women are dependency, passivity, deference, sweetness, softness, helplessness, agreeableness, and weakness. But these feminine characteristics are not valued by the society that nurtures them, and are virtually useless tools for coping with the realities of a woman's life. We have perpetrated a fraud on women, a fantasy that there will always be someone to shelter and protect them; that meaningful work and personal growth are not avenues of fulfillment; that, unless a woman is completed by a man, she is nothing.

Positive Qualities . . . or Negative?

When we are asked to describe the characteristics of admirable people, we list qualities such as courage, self-reliance, independence, self-assertion, self-confidence, physical strength. These qualities are associated with successful, healthy adults—and are nurtured in men. A recent study by a Yale University psychologist found that the four personal characteristics most important for managerial jobs are emotional stability, aggressiveness, leadership ability, and self-reliance. Those characteristics, too, are nurtured in men.

But women who display those qualities are generally described as pushy, brash, aggressive, abrasive, and masculine. Those are pejorative terms. It should be recognized, however, that those women in our society who are successful—in terms of power, prestige, status, and income—do evince those characteristics. But those women are atypical. Their upbringing, education, or experiences must have strayed from the norms which guide our culture and society.

Achievement and "Deviant Upbringing"

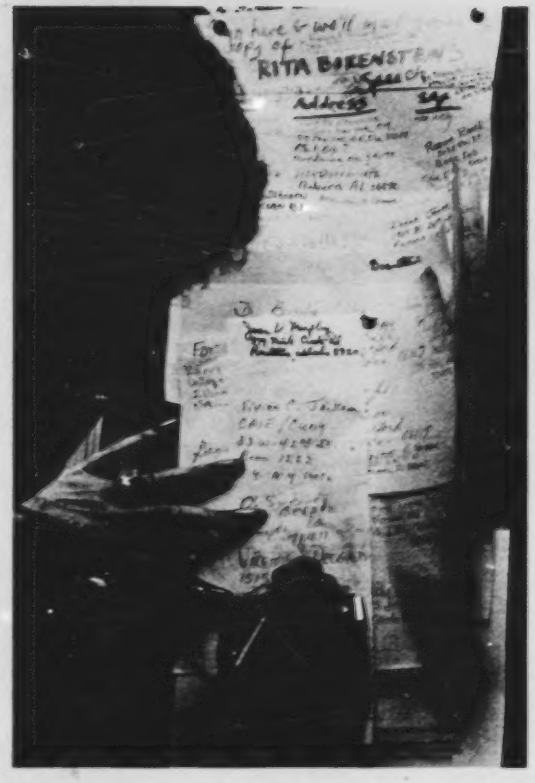
In a longitudinal study on IQ and independence training, it was found that, when children are competitive, self-assertive, independent, and dominant in interaction with other children, their IQ tends to go up. When children are passive, shy, and dependent, their IQ tends to decline. The characteristics associated with a rising IQ, it should be noted, are not very feminine characteristics, in the sense of traditional values.

When one researcher was asked what kind of developmental history was necessary to make a girl into an intellectual person, he replied, "She must be a tomboy at some point in her childhood." The physical vigor, aggressive curiosity, and risk-taking involved in tomboyish behavior is the antithesis of the ladylike docility nurtured in girls by our childrearing and educational practices.

Amelia Earhart's husband, in his biography of the pilot, emphasized that her childhood had been different from that of most girls her age. Along with her brothers, she was encouraged to experiment, to build, to explore the outdoors. He traced her masculine spirit of adventure to this "deviant" upbringing.

Look Good Enough, Smell Good Enough . . .

Consider the story of Emma Green. Everything that happens to Emma is true, but Emma is not a real person—she is a composite of many women. The story is based on research conducted in recent years



30 on the rearing and education of women. The story of Emma is told from a middle-class perspective because, unfortunately, most of the research on sex bias has been conducted with middle-class subjects, most of whom were Anglo. It should be noted, however, that most girls (those in the minority as well as those in the majority, and lower-class as well as middle-class girls) are to some degree captives of the same fairy tale. They believe that if they look good enough, smell good enough, and act sweet enough, they can catch a man who will protect and shelter them forever. Although most girls today expect to work, work is peripheral to their lives. They believe their real rewards will come through their husbands and their children.

A Moth-Eaten Fairy Tale

Emma's moth-eaten middle-class fairy tale begins when she was born. Her parents had hoped for a boy to carry on her father's family name, but they quickly adjusted to her arrival because she was a cute little girl. Her mother was rather pleased with a daughter—she felt that girls are neater, sweeter, and cleaner than boys—and more obedient. Girls, her mother knew, are helpful around the house because they can do chores and take care of younger siblings. As Emma grew up, she had dolls to play with, and tea sets, and doll houses.

Once, when she looked as though she was about to shinny up a tree, her dad said, "No, no, Emma, don't do that. You might fall down and hurt yourself." The little boys on her block were playing ball almost as soon as they could walk, and Emma used to watch them. Once or twice, she asked to play, but the boys said, "Ah, girls can't play ball. Go play with your dolls." Emma's mom, watching, only smiled.

Within a few years, Emma had a younger brother, Tom. Emma's dad was happy to have a boy, and he tossed him up in the air, and he called him "Tiger". Tom was allowed to run and jump and play ball and climb trees. Emma watched him. Emma and Tommy watched television together. They watched the adventures of Superman, Batman, Spiderman, the Hardy Boys, and the Cosby kids. They watched boys and men save lives, help people, and swing between buildings. The men were very brave, adventuresome, courageous, and independent. Tommy realized that he would be like that when he grew up. Emma realized that she was *not* supposed to be like that because she was a girl.

When she went into first grade, Emma felt very important. She could already read a little, and knew her numbers. The first thing the teacher said to her was, "Emma Green, how pretty your dress is! Come and let me look at it. What pretty hair you have." When Emma turned her papers in, the teacher didn't say much about her work, but she always commented on what a nice handwriting she had and how neat her papers were.

Emma loved to read. Besides her textbooks, Emma read books from the library. The books had few pictures of girls or women; they were mostly about boys and men doing important things. Her math and science books had no pictures of girls at all. Emma decided that was because math and science were icky subjects, and only boys liked them. She though that, if she were smart, she could probably be a teacher when she grew up.

In high school, a boy asked Emma to go out with him. Her mother gave her some advice: "Smile and listen to your date. Ask him questions about how he does all the things he does. Don't talk too much. Boys don't like girls who talk too much. And remember, be polite, sit with your legs together. Act like a lady."

Emma went to college because of her parents' encouragement. They said she could meet some nice boys there. In college she met Joe and fell in love with him. When they got married, Emma dropped out of school and went to work so that Joe could finish school. Emma took a job as a clerk in an office. She didn't have any typing or stenography

skills, but she was bright and taught herself to type. She worked herself up to a secretarial job.

When Joe graduated he took a job with a large company. Emma soon gave birth to a boy and later to two girls. The only thing that bothered Emma about her marriage was that sometimes Joe seemed more married to his work than he was to her. Joe was everything to Emma, but she knew that work was really the most important thing in Joe's life.

Then one day, when Emma was 39 and Joe was 40, Joe told Emma he wanted a divorce. Emma had thought they had a pretty good marriage. She wondered how she had failed Joe, what she had done wrong. She guessed she wasn't bright enough—or maybe she didn't clean her house as well as she should have. Joe paid alimony and child support for two years, but then he remarried and started a new family. Within a year or so, the money stopped.

Emma realized she would have to get a regular job. She had worked on and off throughout the years as a part-time clerk, but had no skills with which to build a career. She had never even learned stenography. She went to an employment agency to find a job, and they sent her to work as a file clerk, the job she had had 20 years before when she dropped out of college.

Why Are Women in School?

Emma's story makes it imperative for educators to ask themselves, Why are women in school? To catch a husband? To learn enough reading and mathematics to teach their children and do the shopping? To learn to drive? Schools continue to patronize, protect, and segregate girls. We believe that competition is no good for girls; that physical activity is dangerous for girls; that coeducational physical activity is immoral; that hard or dirty work is unladylike; that rigorous academic preparation is unnecessary for girls; and that job or career training for girls is peripheral to their needs.

Working Women

We educate women as if there will always be someone around to take care of them. On the contrary, we should pretend that girls are orphans, will never marry, and will have to be responsible for themselves for the rest of their lives. In short, we must help our female students to prepare for lives of work, since work they will. In fact, nine out of ten girls presently in high school will work during their lives. If they marry, they will work an average of 25 years; if they do not, they will work an average of 45 years.

Most women work because of economic need. They are widowed, divorced, single, or have husbands earning under seven thousand dollars a year. But they are clustered in low-paying, dead-end jobs. Women earn significantly less than men, and tend to be overqualified and overeducated for the jobs they hold.

Minority Women

Minority women are in a double bind. Black females are frequently alienated in desegregated school settings, where Black males can sometimes find status and acceptance through athletics and other male-dominated activities. Studies reveal that Black high school girls are low in self-esteem. Black teenage girls suffer higher unemployment rates than any other group in the work force. Proportionately, more Black high school girls than their Anglo counterparts enroll in the general curriculum, which offers little preparation for vocations, college, or business careers. Black girls get fewer years of total education than do white girls. They are more likely to have children, and less likely to get married. But despite the fact that they are more likely to have to support themselves and their offspring, studies show that Black girls know less about the work world than do their Anglo counterparts. In fact, a new report by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights indicates that, since 1960,

32 "Despite measurable progress, minorities and women have not made significant strides toward economic and social equality with white men."

The Responsibilities of Educators

What are the responsibilities of educators for changing the education of women and more adequately providing them with the characteristics, skills, and experiences that will allow them to survive with dignity? One of the most potent tools in the hands of educators today is Title IX of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. That legislation offers the potential for liberating female students from the paternalism, stereotyping, and discrimination which are characteristic of American education. Title IX prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex in educational institutions receiving federal money; virtually all schools in the country are covered by the law.

Three years ago, the general reaction of school administrators, coaches, and other school personnel to Title IX ranged from tolerant amusement to undiluted anger. Very few people accepted the fact that sex discrimination existed in their schools. Despite the hostility and recalcitrance, however, significant changes have occurred in schools around the country as a result of Title IX. One state reports a 630 percent increase in the number of girls participating in interscholastic sports. Physical education teachers are finding that properly handled coeducational classes have positive outcomes for both themselves and their students. The number of women advancing into administrative positions is definitely on the increase, although the overall numbers are still small.

Few Changes in the Classroom

While there has been progress in providing equal opportunities in education for women over the past years, little change has occurred in the classroom itself. Few teachers are informed about the Title IX mandate and the damaging effects of sex bias in curriculum and instruction. Teacher attitudes, behaviors, and expectations are crucial factors in the development of female students. This places a special responsibility on all those involved in teacher training—a responsibility to become aware of the nature and impact of sex bias in education and to develop the skills with which to train teachers to overcome biased practices.

What Can Education Do?

There are nine areas that require immediate attention if the education of women is to change. These points translate equally well to the education of the minority student. First, the level of awareness regarding stereotyped attitudes and behavior must be raised. Teachers should be helped to examine their attitudes about appropriate sex-role behaviors, and then to sensitize their students and colleagues to the issues of bias and stereotyping. Second, teachers should become knowledgeable about Title IX so that they can help monitor compliance in their departments, schools, school districts, and universities. They should know who their Title IX Coordinator is, how to file a grievance, whether the institutional self-evaluation required by the government was conducted, and what areas were found to be out of compliance. They should also inform students about their rights and responsibilities under Title IX.

Third, female students, teachers, and administrators should be encouraged, supported, and trained for nontraditional career options and upward mobility. Schools of education should be providing encouragement, financial support, and job placement opportunities for women in educational administration.

Fourth, community groups should be educated about Title IX and involved both in monitoring compliance and in assisting teachers to overcome bias. Indeed, sometimes there are more resources for the teacher in the community than in the school. Fifth, resources on sex bias and methods to

Our studies of pre- and inservice teacher education found that such enterprises are enormous, but variations across programs are surprisingly small. Programs look more alike than different. Further, those programs that are exceptional and remarkably successful address change that affects governance, content, delivery, and modes of teacher education.

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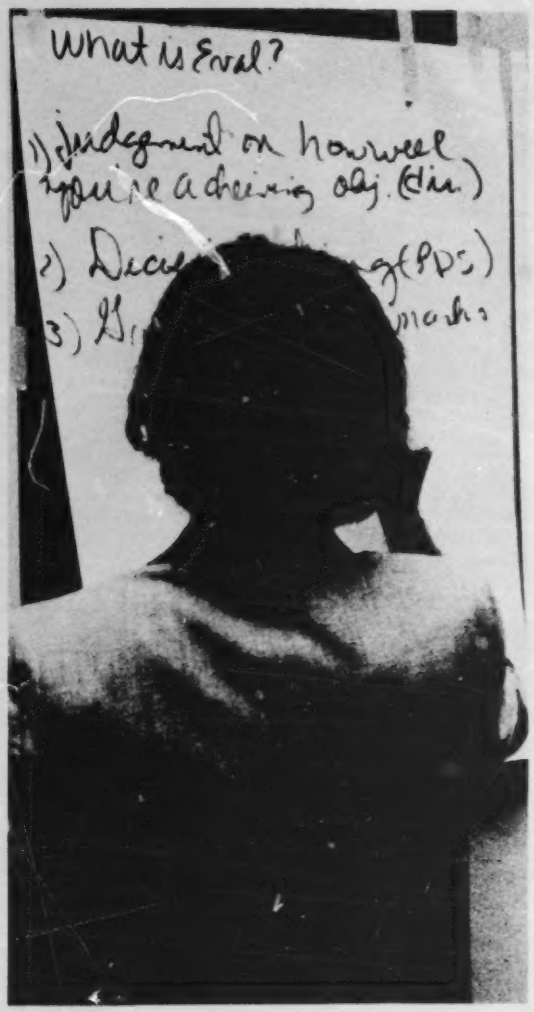

eliminate such bias should be available to teachers in every school. There are increasing numbers of such useful materials, including newsletters, bibliographies of non-sexist materials, women's studies curricula, classroom activities, books and films, workshop and training guides, research data, and employment data. Sixth, research is needed in all areas of sexism in education. Much work is needed on the interaction of sex and race factors in the educational process.

Seventh, teachers should be trained to identify sex bias in curricular materials. Textbooks, films, course curricula, tests, and teacher training texts and guides should be reviewed for bias and stereotyping. Textbooks reflect disproportionately small numbers of girls and women. Further, as the grade level increases, the representation of females decreases. Minorities are inadequately represented, and minority women suffer particular exclusion. They are pictured only half as many times as minority men. When females are portrayed, they are in largely stereotyped roles and occupations. In general, girls and women are portrayed as emotional, lacking in initiative, skills, bravery, competence, and independence. Few women are portrayed at work; most are shown in family roles. The contributions of women to our culture and history are ignored in most textbooks currently in use.

Eighth, teachers should develop ways to incorporate information about the history and contributions of women and the problems of sexism in all courses and programs.

Finally, teachers must gain information and skills to analyze and eliminate sexist practices in their interactions with students, since interactions between girls and their teachers are often instrumental in shaping their feeling about themselves and their environment. Research with elementary school teachers indicates that they interact far more with boys than with girls. Boys are not only reprimanded more, but also receive more praise and instruction. They are listened to and rewarded for creative behavior. Girls are either ignored, or rewarded for being neat, clean, polite, and quiet. Studies of secondary school teachers indicate that teachers of both sexes expect and prefer adolescent males to be dominant, independent, and assertive. Adolescent females are expected to be submissive, dependent, unassertive, emotional, and concerned about their appearance.

Further, the tasks and groupings assigned by teachers are often based on stereotyped notions about appropriate male and female behavior. For example, why do we ask only boys to carry books, to move furniture, and to operate audio-visual equipment? Why are girls asked to carry messages and to erase the board? Why do we have different methods for rewarding and punishing students, based on their sex? We would be appalled if a teacher said, "Good morning, Blacks and Anglos," or "We are going to have a spelling bee; it will be the Chicanos against the Anglos." Yet, how often *do* teachers say, "Good morning, girls and boys"? How often *do* teachers pit the girls against the boys in spelling bees? All too often, I would submit. We know that racially identifiable groupings are frequently the result of racist practices, as is the disparity in corporal punishment and suspension rates for minority and non-minority students. For most people, it is harder to see that, in the same way, treating students on the basis of sex—rather than individual differences—is discriminatory.

Girls, like all children, need a great deal of encouragement from their teachers. The 1975 report on male-female achievement by the National Assessment of Education Progress indicated that, at age nine, males and females perform at about the same level in all subjects. By age 13, girls have begun a decline in achievement which continues downward through age 17 and into adulthood. By adulthood, males as a group out-perform females as a group in *everything* except creative writing and music.

The Lesson of the Arapesh

I remind you of the lesson of the Arapesh: What we expect from people is generally what we get. Unless we educate teachers to liberate their female students from protective, limiting stereotypes, we shall not be providing a truly equal education.

Virginia Woolf wrote: "Life for both sexes is arduous, difficult, a perpetual struggle. It calls for gigantic courage and strength. More than anything . . . it calls for confidence in oneself." To prepare women for this struggle is one of the tasks of our educational system. Let us send them out into the world with all the courage, daring, intelligence, physical strength, pride, and confidence of which they are born capable.

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Federal Legislative Trends in Education

Shirley Chisholm

The Antecedents of Innovation

The Teacher Corps program was established by Congress in 1965. It was intended to strengthen educational opportunities for children in areas having concentrations of low-income families, and to encourage colleges and universities to broaden and improve their preservice and inservice programs of teacher preparation. The Teacher Corps, along with programs such as those generated under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, formed the nucleus of a historic new federal commitment to equal educational opportunity in the United States. That commitment has led to fundamental changes, not only in inter-governmental relations, but also in the role, purpose, and method of delivering educational services.

Clearly, the 1960s and 1970s have marked an unprecedented era of educational innovation in this country. During that era, educational administrators have had great opportunities to review public policy goals and to study the recent efforts to improve education. I, too, have had the opportunity to witness the rise, fall, and burial of several new and often innovative teaching techniques during the last decade. I would like to suggest some lessons which we might learn from our shared experience and to apply those lessons to current issues in education.

Student Performance and Basic Skills

Student performance is one major issue facing educators and policy-makers alike. Reports detailing the national decline in student achievement test scores have produced a major re-evaluation of the effectiveness of current instructional approaches. The federal government and many states have responded to this educational crisis by placing a new emphasis on basic skills instruction. Members of Congress, state legislatures, and local school boards are engaged in a frantic search for some new instructional gimmick that seems to work. That is the Dixie-cup mentality. Our culture, our customs, and our national behavior lead many of us to believe that something that doesn't work properly should be thrown away—whether it is a paper cup, a car, or a federal education program affecting millions of school children. The solution to any American dilemma is always so simple: Order something newer, brighter, shinier, and, of course, more expensive.

Minimum Competency Testing

Let me illustrate that observation with a case in point: A growing number of states and school districts are now including mandates for minimum competency measurement. Minimum competency requirements are supposedly designed to ensure that public school students can demonstrate their mastery of certain minimal skills needed to perform tasks routinely confronted in adult life. Standardized tests are often administered under competency programs to measure simple proficiencies in basic skill areas such as reading, writing, and mathematics, and to diagnose student weaknesses. There are, however, a few major defects in the competency testing approach. First, the initial gauge of a fair competency examination should be whether the test measures what was actually taught in school. If the test attempts to measure knowledge or skills which were never taught, and many of them do, then the examination may result in students being punished for the inadequacies of the school system. Further, many competency testing programs are imposed upon students in the tenth or eleventh grade, with little prior notice. School systems which require passage of a competency test as a prerequisite to graduation may have explicitly approved previous student progress by annually promoting students, despite obvious deficiencies in specific skills areas. Traditional notions of fair play and due process would appear to require adequate prior notice of any new graduation requirements which could harm a

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child's educational or employment prospects for the future.

There are other problems. For example, while substantial numbers of white middle-class students cannot meet minimal competency standards, a disproportionate percentage of Black and Hispanic youngsters will be adversely affected by competency testing requirements. A number of competency studies clearly indicate a racial and socioeconomic impact on standardized test achievement. That pattern has continued where competency testing programs have been implemented. The point is not that minorities should be exempted from system-wide standards for functional competence. (Indeed, many Black and Hispanic parents whose children are receiving inferior educations are in the forefront of those calling for increased attention to basic skills.) The point is that care must be taken before we begin instituting measures that will assign numbers of young people to educational trash heaps. Care must be taken to assure that competency testing does not simply lead to discrimination.

Handicapped Students and Competency Testing

Another important issue which policy-makers and parents must consider is whether competency tests should be applied to handicapped students. Many of the arguments for and against such a requirement for handicapped students are similar to those made with respect to non-handicapped children. That is, such programs may have the potential to help increase proficiency in basic skills and to enhance the meaning of a diploma. But they also have the potential to unfairly discriminate against students and to undercut the broader goals of public education. Other concerns relate to the fairness and legality of the assessment of handicapped students by the use of minimum competency tests. The special difficulty of identifying fair assessment procedures for handicapped children might lead parents and administrators to favor total exemption from testing for all such students. Whatever approach the various states and school districts take toward competency testing, it must be fair to each child. Minimum competency testing policies must not conflict with the responsibility of public schools to provide a free and appropriate education for handicapped students.

The Responsibility for Success . . . and Failure

Another major issue facing educators and policy-makers is the question of responsibility for educational successes and failures. There has been a tendency to blame students and their background for the failure of our schools. We have blamed the lack of proper resources and the lack of basic exposure that is necessary to stimulate the child. All too often, it seems to be the student who is blamed for our failures. But we must also take the responsibility for our failures as adults and as educators. Of course, there are people in our profession who are committed, who are concerned, and who do a darned good job. There are people who work in the so-called ghetto schools of this nation; a lot of people say there is no hope in those areas. They say, "You can't teach those children anything. Look at the environment from which they come." And in other areas we have everything going for us: Beautiful physical plants, relatively small turn-over of teachers, all the latest scientific resources. But the bottom line still continues to be the teacher. The teacher makes the difference. In many of those so-called ghetto areas, where so much is missing, I have seen some of the finest teaching possible. Meanwhile, the more affluent areas often leave much to be desired. It *is* the teacher.

Reform, Change, and Resistance

Finally, I would like to point out the fact that those who seek change do so in the quest of educational reform. But people resist change. People get comfortable with traditions, even when they are no longer relevant to the problems we are grappling with. People resist change. But change is in the order of things; change makes ours a dynamic, moving society. We are not interested in change just for the sake of change. We are interested in change as a means to bettering the human condition. If we bear that end in mind, we will not be so afraid of change.

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Section Two

Trends

Two national trends are currently impacting upon the certification of our professions. The first is the move by state legislatures to question the effectiveness of their states' certification systems. In some states this could lead to the elimination of licensing boards. The second trend is the move toward consumer participation on certification and licensing boards. In California, for example, lay people, consumers, are serving on virtually every certification or licensing board in the state.

Paul Pottinger
National Center for the Study of Professions

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The majority of the sessions offered throughout the conference week received high ratings from the participants. Most teams drew upon the positive experiences of daily sessions and were able to plan some form of session follow-up for the coming year. This congruence between presentations and project needs also contributed to the overall success of the conference.

But more than any other factor, the participants and presentors themselves made the conference come to life. Problems of logistics, acoustics, and fatigue notwithstanding, the people at the conference transformed the written agenda into a set of events that coalesced into a worthwhile experience. Given the nature of the Teacher Corps goals, this transformation was appropriate. Given the extremely heavy load of the week's events, anything less than this transformation would have worked to the detriment of the conference.

James Burry
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Excerpt from the Conference Evaluation Report

The History of Change: Lessons Learned

Gerald Rochwalb

Some Views of Change

The subject of change is a grand subject. That is not meant in a complimentary sense, but in a frightening sense. Many people have commented on the subject of change over the years. Onahak DeVoel, for example, said that nothing in the world lasts—except constant, eternal change. Twenty-five hundred years before that, Heraclitus said that nothing stays still—nothing endures but change. Abraham Calley, in 1650, noted that the world is a sea of changes, and that to be constant in nature is to be inconstant. Milton, in *Paradise Lost,* wrote, "The Sun . . . in dim eclips disastrous twilight sheds/on half the Nations, and with fear of change/ Perplexes monarchs."

We also read professional and popular articles that describe the relationship between extreme anxiety and its results: psychosis and certain physical ailments. There is a relationship between anxieties and the changes that precede them. Anything that makes things different creates anxieties, creates confusion, creates troublesomeness. We may, then, well ask why, if change is normal, if change is constant, if change is what is to be expected, if change is inevitable, if change is forever and in all our lives—why do we react to change, almost any kind of change, with resistance, very frequently succeeding in preventing change from coming about? We generally assign a positive connotation to the notion of change; we know that what has to be changed is not good enough, and may even be bad. To not change something that is not good enough is to stay in the status quo, which is to be worried about. And yet Alvin Toffler, in *Future Shock,* referred to change as a shock, as disruption, as something which worries people and perhaps undermines constancy and stability.

Lessons of the Rand Study

As we consider change, we must also consider the lessons that we learn as we attempt to promote change. The Rand study of educational change tells us that change depends in part on politics. People are politics, and dealing with people is strictly a political business. If that is true, then a change effort cannot survive without leadership. Nothing good happens; nothing of real merit happens; nothing of real consequence happens; nothing lasting happens without leadership. And leadership is of course another word for confidence. How can we develop leadership? How can we select leaders? How can we help our leaders understand that they have not so much power as responsibility? Leadership, and the answers to those questions, are the difference between a successful project and one that either fails or is not so successful.

A second lesson of the Rand study is that experience is (or can be) a handicap. The evidence is quite clear. The most experienced teachers were the least willing to change. That makes sense; they had the most to lose, and were the most secure in what they knew. They could not take a chance. Kids can take chances, and young adults are willing to; they have very little to lose. The third lesson of the Rand study is that change must be undertaken, if possible, in familiar surroundings. People must be made to feel secure with change. Finally, the Rand study teaches us that change is a never-ending process. We never really effect a change; we start a change and then attempt to keep it going.

Lessons of the Urban-Rural Study

A second study of educational change was the study of the Urban-Rural Development Program. The lesson of that study is quite straightforward: Success breeds confidence, and confidence breeds more success. People's capacity to believe in their capabilities can help them find the security they need in order to take chances—and only by taking chances, only by gambling, only by taking one step beyond the secure, do we really effect changes that matter.

Lessons of the Career Opportunities Program

The Career Opportunities Program also offers some important lessons for those who wish to effect change. The first is that people want recognition. They want to believe that they are part of something more important than themselves. We all know that nobody gets out of this world alive. We can take ourselves seriously only up to a certain point and after that point we have to know that we are something more—something beyond ourselves—because we are part of something more. People respond to recognition, and they impact upon the people around them when they have been recognized. People need others to work with; they need to know that they are not out there by themselves. And when they have done something good, they have got to be told that they have done something good. The lesson of the Career Opportunities Program can be summarized in one question: If you have thirty-five people and you want to get from point A to point B on a bus, do you look for a bus driver or somebody who can drive a bus? There is a big difference between the two. Common sense and hard work are much more important than certificates and documents.

Lessons of the Research on Teacher Training

The research on training methods for teachers also offers a very simple lesson: Think small. People need to be in control of their lives; they need to be involved in the changes that others are making. They cannot have changes imposed upon them. They know how to delay change; they know how to postpone it; they know how to undermine it.

One other lesson of teacher training research is this: What was good teaching in 1878 is good teaching in 1978. The mechanics don't make the difference. Media only make a difference in that they make it easier; a teacher today can show a film or use a mechanical device to actually show things that could only be described a hundred years ago. But the fundamental aspect of teaching is the one-to-one relationship between a teacher and a pupil. That does not change; media do not change that. An incompetent teacher using media is still an incompetent teacher. A competent teacher without media is a better teacher than an incompetent teacher with media. Hard work is essential to success. Nothing happens by chance; nothing happens easily; it takes extraordinary labor to teach well. People must understand that and be willing to work hard if they are to be successful teachers.

Passion

What, then, is the single common lesson of the studies described here? It all comes down to one word: passion. Those who really care; those who are really willing to put themselves on the line; those are the people who can make change happen.

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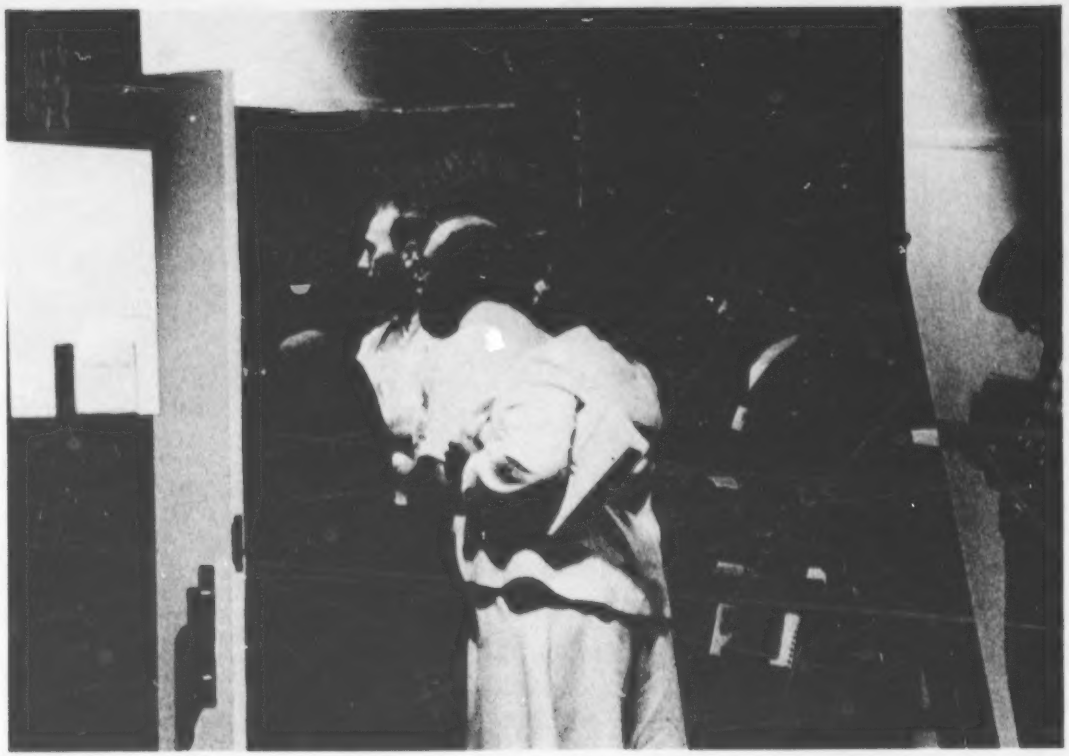
Federal Education Policy at the Crossroads

George Kaplan



The Federal Responsibility for Education

Washington educational policy is sometimes confused and often confusing. In order to examine that policy and the process of its development, we must first consider the federal responsibility for education. There is no mention in the United States Constitution of a federal responsibility in education; that responsibility is left to the states. The fact is, however, that, for any number of years, the states did not measure up to many of their responsibilities. Further, there are numerous interstate and national-level concerns that states or local education agencies cannot address satisfactorily.

Thus, over the years, there have evolved a number of areas in which the federal government has traditionally assumed major responsibility, and for which no one else seems willing to accept responsibility. One such area is that of equal educational opportunity. That is a major federal responsibility, and is visible in many concrete programs. A second such area is educational research. In that area we find not only the National Institute of Education, but also research grants to universities and research institutes.

Training for Education Professions

Relatively little is done, however, in the area of professional training, either at local, state, or federal levels. Budget priorities at local and state levels almost never take training into account. Discretionary monies for training in school systems are painfully inadequate. At one time the federal government tried to respond in a comprehensive way to staff development and training needs through the Education Professions Development Act, which has now been discontinued. The Teacher Corps predated EPDA, but was at one time under its authority, and now outlives it; but, aside from the Teacher Corps, the federal government supports almost no training for the education professions. It is extremely difficult to justify that

From our study of research on training methods for teachers, we learned the importance of providing non-threatening feedback to teachers. Teacher trainers are perceived by teachers as evaluators as well as trainers—and that can be threatening. I would suggest that it is important to put the feedback systems into the hands of teachers themselves, so that they can examine their own performance in their own classrooms.

Christopher Clark

44 chasm when the field itself is so seriously in need of support for training. Consider also the fact that the most grotesque congeries of legislative provisions imaginable are being foisted on the American people and have automatically survived for dozens and dozens of years. But the EPDA was allowed to lapse. The spokespeople for professional training were not successful in impacting that policy decision.

Educational Reform and Residual Functions

A fourth area of federal involvement in education has been in educational reform. The federal government has provided subsidies and incentives, and has attempted to stimulate leadership. Fifth, last, and exceptionally important momentarily, the federal government has supported a series of residual functions that other political authorities at any level are not really interested in. Increasingly, of course, states and other parties are getting into some of those areas; but consider vocational education, education of the handicapped, and impact aid programs. Major initiatives are very rare from anywhere outside the federal government to support work in these areas; and yet we all believe that those areas are of central importance to American education.

Historical Aspects

We might also consider the historical aspects of the Federal responsibility for education. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is only 25 years old. The U.S. Office of Education is 105 years old, but, through all but the last 15 or 16 years, the USOE was in a fairly deep slumber. It has some small, finite responsibilities, and USOE carried those out. I have said that HEW is only 25 years old; budget statistics provide a slightly better appreciation of that Department and its place in the nation's history. In fiscal year 1954, the entire federal budget was 71 billion dollars. In fiscal year 1979, that budget was 500 billion dollars. For fiscal year 1954, which was the first full year of HEW, the Department's

budget was 5.7 billion dollars. That was eight percent of the national budget. In fiscal year 1979, HEW had a budget of 180 billion dollars. That is almost three times the entire national budget of fiscal year 1954. The HEW budget is larger that the combined budgets of all 50 states. Only the budgets of the United States itself and of the Soviet Union are larger.

In fiscal year 1954, HEW had 34,000 employees. The Department currently has 145,000 employees. These figures are mind-boggling. Within that structure, the U.S. Office of Education has about 3,600 employees and a budget of 12.9 billion dollars. How, then, is educational policy actually formulated and who allocates the monies to support those policy decisions?

What Forces Influence Education Policy?

There are three or four main parts of the educational policy establishment in Washington which seem to control educational policy decisions. The first is the Executive Branch. There are 4,000 people working in HEW's Education Division, the superordinate structure into which the USOE fits. The structure of that Division is, at the least, confusing. It is a Division, and yet there are divisions within the Division. There are branches that are more powerful than offices. There are bureau chiefs who have more clout than deputy assistant secretaries. That situation reflects a completely topsy-turvy hodgepodge of priorities and organizational order. Approximately 12.9 billion dollars of the total 23 billion dollars reserved for education is scattered among 70 or more agencies of the government. The President of the United States spends very little time on education. President Carter has, for example, said he thought he spent less than two percent of his domestic affairs time on education.

We might expect the Congress to spend substantially more time on education. I think it would be valid to say that there are no more than a half-dozen Congresspeople with any more than a passing familiarity with the main educational issues of the day. There are no more than two or three members of Congress who give more that 15 or 20 percent of their time to education. There are 435 members in the House of Representatives, and the House does have a nearly 40-person Education and Labor Committee. But that Education and Labor Committee is as concerned with labor as it is with education, and, again, it is safe to say that there are no more than ten people in the House of Representatives who are familiar with and involved in most of the educational issues of the day.

Professional Associations

The third part of the Washington Education policy triangle is the professional associations. The education associations have begun to come out from their corners and to exert a reasonably important—albeit uncoordinated—role in educational policy. There are five hundred organizations in Washington that can be said to have a serious, or even dominant, concern with education. They range from very specifically oriented, small organizations, to the National Education Association, the American Council on Education, and others. They make common cause once a year, when they come together under the aegis of the Committee for Full Funding of Education Programs. Six out of seven times in the Nixon-Ford years, that group managed to overturn Presidential vetoes of appropriations legislation for education. When money is involved, they do not fight among themselves. When almost everything else is involved, they pull this way and that. The Department of Education issue is a classic case; the National Education Association has actively promoted that Department, but the other teachers' association, the American Federation of Teachers, is stridently opposed to such a Department. The views of other groups vary. All Catholic Education Association organizations are opposed to a Department of Education. Higher education lobbying groups are in favor, but do not strongly assert their view.

The Courts and The Media

The courts also have a role in federal education policy. They have played a pivotal role in equal opportunity, in the education of handicapped children, and in many other areas where the courts have forced educational interests, institutions, and political policy systems to react. Finally, of course, the media have a role in educational policy. The issue of the cabinet-level Department of Education, for example, is one in which the media have been actively involved.

Obviously, the federal education policy system is very complex. To summarize, I might quote a report on a Washington policy seminar: "Washington is a stimulating city, surrounded on all four sides by reality."

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Influencing Federal Education Policy-Making

Samuel Halperin

A Very Good Year

Before considering how educators can affect federal education policies—policies which directly impact on educators—it is important to consider the current picture in Washington. One of the strange phenomena of our time is the fact that education has done better than any other domestic area in the second year of the Carter Administration. For the first time in several years, there is a substantial increase in federal education spending—about a 14 percent increase overall. In contrast, most agencies are either at plateau levels or undergoing some cuts. Education has had a very good year in terms of appropriations. By the time the education division gets its budget and Congress recesses, education will have over 13 billion dollars, which is up rather markedly from the eight and a half or nine billion dollars that Mr. Ford recommended when he left office.

On the subject of money, all bets are off, of course, for next year. Despite campaign promises and good intentions, the state of the economy has everyone worried. It's conceivable that the gains made this year will be undermined, if not swept away, during Fiscal Year 1980.

The Diminishing Partisan Struggle

Aside from budgetary isssues, there is not a great deal of excitement over educational issues and policy-making in Washington. Perhaps one reason for that is the fact that partisan struggles over education legislation have diminished over the last 20 years. The House of Representatives recently passed a 51 billion dollar authorization bill for five years. That passed by a vote of 320 to 79. The so-called Republican substitute for the bill was only supported by 61 Republicans, which is another way of saying that there was a great deal of support for the bipartisan education program. The same is true for the recent career education legislation, which had only ten negative votes, and the Education for

All Handicapped Children Act, which had only seven negative votes, each, in the House and the Senate. Perhaps the lack of partisan opposition detracts from the interest that educators and others pay to education policy-making in the nation's capital. If it seems easy, if it seems bipartisan, if it seems as if it doesn't involve a go or no-go question, we tend to forget educational issues.

The Discontinuity of Leadership

Another feature of life in Washington is the tremendous discontinuity of leadership in education. Since President Kennedy was sworn in, there have been nine Secretaries of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and 15 Commissioners of Education or Acting Commissioners who served for substantial periods. In the past, continuity was provided by Congress, where members of the education committees could serve virtually as long as they wished. But that is all changed. Of the present 535 members of Congress, 377 were elected since 1965, when the Elementary and Secondary Education Act became law. That is a turnover rate of 71 percent. At the end of this year, another 60 to 80 members will retire, which will mean that over 80 percent of the members will have very little direct experience with—or commitment to—the Great Society, the New Frontier, and the social domestic legislation which were the hallmarks of the 1960s, and which are still on the present Congressional agenda. Of the 37 members of the House Education and Labor Committee, only eight (or less) will sit in the next Congressional session. There is thus little continuity in the Congress. That means educators must help the members of Congress if they are to understand the place of American education at the federal level, as well as their own roles and current education programs.

Concern for Individuals

Another feature of the Washington education policy-making scene is the fact that policy-makers do not fund institutions, per se, very well. In education, policy-makers are concerned with individuals; they like to provide so many students with compensatory education in Title I programs. They tend to provide direct student financial assistance in a variety of higher education and student aid programs. They like to provide breakfast or lunch programs, or a specific number of openings in a head-start program. Policy-makers do not pay very much attention to the health of the institutions which are supposed to take care of the individuals addressed through programs.

In that regard, teacher education has perhaps suffered the most. I know of no other disaster quite comparable to educators' inability to keep the Education Professions Development Act alive. EPDA was passed in 1967 and was, in many ways, an extremely far-reaching law; it permitted all kinds of teacher training and retraining institutes, seminars, fellowships, and preservice and inservice programs. That program was killed, which takes a lot of doing, since most legislative programs will continue to some degree from the sheer force of momentum. The simple demise of EPDA grew from an effort on the part of the Congress and the Nixon Administration to turn the clock back—and educators let that happen. As a result, there is currently no comprehensive teacher education or leadership training, no educational personnel act on the statute books to provide educators with new markets for their talents.

The Teacher Corps, then, is in many ways the only game left in town. The Teacher Corps hasn't grown very much, and one could argue that it has really been reduced in size as a result of the erosions of inflation. The best possibilities for teacher education components in new legislation appear to be in career and vocational education programs—those will be the areas of educational concern for the Congress in the next several years. Even then, however, teacher training will remain a stepchild. That is indeed unfortunate.

The Mood of Congress

Washington education policy-making, then, focuses on money appropriations and target groups for programs, rather than on lofty abstractions about educational philosophy and teaching and learning. Despite that fact and the rise in education spending—and the high priority that was given to educational legislation by the Carter Administration—the mood continues to be somewhere between awful and sullen. It is not clear exactly why that is so, particularly in view of the much-improved relations between the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Congress. The fact of the matter is that members of Congress, in particular, complain that, after they have done all these wonderful things for the folks back home, they never get any thank-you notes. Further, some of the few members of Congress who have been around long enough to know the difference between a good year and a bad year are irked and annoyed that, having extended themselves this far, they are not hearing even murmurings of faint satisfaction from their constituents. They are not getting any sense at all that they are on the right track—that they're doing what the people want.

Dealing with Policy-Makers

How, then, can educators begin to turn that picture around: How can they begin to deal with members of Congress and to influence policy decisions? It is very, very simple: It's just that we don't like to do it. We must treat members of Congress like grown-ups. They are well educated. They are intelligent. They are responsive. They need to hear from educators—but they don't. Most of them have not been on a university campus since they were students. They have very little sense of what educators are doing. They like education a great deal, as indicated by their voting records for education over the years. They don't, however, like educators very much. They particularly don't like bureaucrats and administrators of any type, whether they work in government or in universities. But they need to understand what educators do, and educators seldom give them the opportunity to understand educators' hopes, aspirations, and problems.

The same criticism is voiced by state legislators, who are even more indignant because many of them feel that they are paying for a bigger share of educators' salaries and programs than is the federal government. Yet, they say they don't have a sense of what educators are doing. If those in education are going to make a serious effort to understand legislators and their desires, educators will have to understand that legislators are, after all, political animals. Educators have to get the notion into their heads that it's not bad to be reelected or to want to be reelected. Educators can help legislators get reelected without selling themselves out. Educators can give legislators publicity, exposure, visibility. People who are running for elective office need opportunities to make speeches, and they will go to the most godawful lunch, and they will speak to anyone if there are more than five or six eligible voters in the audience.

Let Congress Know!

Legislators are often able to visit local projects and to see programs like the Teacher Corps in action. They need to have some sense, again, that educators care about what they think—and that educators will give legislators the opportunity to reach the people they are supposed to represent. Another way of developing relationships with legislators is to show gratitude. It doesn't hurt to say "thank you" once in a while. If a Teacher Corps project or another federal program has made a difference to some people, it wouldn't hurt to let legislators know that. Like most people in public life, legislators complain that they only hear from constituents when there's a problem. They don't hear about it when they're doing something right,

In the past, the Congress has been very reluctant to authorize the Teacher Corps to work directly with any educational personnel other than pre- or in-service teachers. Now, however, the Congress has given us the mandate to work with principals and other administrators in our project schools. That makes sense, for principals and administrators are integral to Teacher Corps processes and they themselves have been arguing that they need the kinds of opportunities for assistance and training which the Teacher Corps can provide. We can now offer that support, and we will.

William L. Smith
Teacher Corps—Washington

and they don't have any idea what educators do with the federal and state resources.

It is important to build support for appropriations or legislation by giving legislators constant input and feedback. Now, legislative association people—education lobbyists—do that, but that is not enough. The very best legislative lobbyist in Washington is just that, a paid functionary, a bureaucrat. The people legislators want to hear from are the people back home who make a difference.

Make Others Aware

If I were a Teachers Corps Director and I really thought I had something good going, I would make sure that the local Chamber of Commerce knew about it. I would make sure the American Legion knew about it. I would make sure the newspapers in my area knew about it. The town fathers, the disadvantaged young people's representatives, and civil rights and church groups should know, too. In other words, I would build the Teacher Corps into the fabric of society in a way that most other programs do not. Members of Congress and bureaucrats eventually catch up with what is going on in the field. Elected people are voracious newspaper readers, and they do hear about what's happening, and what they read and hear creates images. Whether or not the Teacher Corps achievement is memorable depends on the kind of story you tell, and whether the people who allocate resources believe in what the Teacher Corps is doing. That is the single most important fact for educators—Teacher Corps personnel in particular—to keep in mind when they attempt to influence education policy-making.

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Where is Education Policy Made?

Noel Epstein

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Is Education a Federal Priority?

Many students of the Washington scene have said that education is not a current federal priority, at least not in Congress. We need to ask *why* that is so. Too often, people in the education community, in Washington at least, have lots of answers, but forget to ask the appropriate questions. They say there's not enough of this, there's not enough of that—but the real issue usually comes down to the substantive question, *Should* there be more for this or that? That question is very rarely asked. It is assumed that more is better, that more is needed.

Consider that viewpoint in the context of the fact that there is no national education writer for the Washington *Post*. That fact says something—and it's not merely that there is not an interest in education. Education issues in Washington are not necessarily funnelled through education committees. They are not necessarily funnelled through educational institutions around the country, either. Educational issues surface in a number of areas in the federal government and in the media—areas which are not ordinarily considered within the educational domain. For example, the *Post*'s Supreme Court reporter covered the Bakke case. Desegregation issues often come out of the Justice Department. Right now, the attempt to have an impact on the bias of textbooks will probably come from the Civil Rights Commission, which is in the midst of doing a several-year study on bias in textbooks. Predictably, the Civil Rights Commission will say there is a great deal of bias in textbooks, just as they said there was a great deal of stereotyping and bias on television, and that will provide a major pressure for an additional change in textbooks. Thus, educational issues have become priorities to many federal agencies which one might not ordinarily associate with education per se.

Serving Other Purposes

We really do not have a national education policy; we have deliberately not had a national education policy. One of the questions that does not get asked often enough is, "Do we *want* a national education policy?" We have had such policies only peripherally in the past. For example, in the post-Sputnik era, the National Defense Education Act was created for defense purposes, not to aid education. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965—and its progeny in years hence—was not created to aid education, in the sense of aiding the schools, or as an effort of the federal government to take a responsibility for the schools. That money was intended for disadvantaged students. Further, the GI Bill was not created for aid to education, obviously. It was a veterans' adjustment policy, and was intended essentially to avoid the massive unemployment and discontent which would have resulted from World War II if there had been no alternative to immediate jobs, which were not available. Education programs, then, have intentionally been scattered around the federal government. That is not some organizational accident. Those programs were scattered because they were fundamentally for purposes other than education.

It is of course difficult to say that education is not a major issue in this country when one views, for example, the affirmative action battle. Although that battle did not go through an education committee in Congress, affirmative action is a major issue affecting education, as it affects all other labor policies—particularly for those who have contracts with the federal government. That is how affirmative action affects higher education in this country, on faculty hiring. But that is a peripheral issue to education.

Consider other issues which bear on education but which are not education issues per se. Desegregation, for example, has been a perennial issue, and it is still a very powerful and important issue in education. The federal government has again gotten very heavily involved in education for civil rights and income redistribution purposes, but not for education in and of itself.

Can a Department of Education Change the Picture?

Will creating a Department of Education help redefine these programs as education efforts? Creating such a cabinet-level department is, in effect, policy-making. It is, in effect, changing the priorities of the government. It is a "back-door" approach to establishing a responsibility for education in and of itself. In my opinion, it would not lead to federal control of education. In fact, a cabinet-level department would not necessarily be *designed* to lead to federal control of education. Control is not, and has never been, the question. The question has been federal influence, not control. The question is, What new purposes does the federal government find for a Department of Education; how can the government use education as an instrument to achieve objectives in other areas? That is basically the way the federal government does use education.

Substantive Education Questions

We do not often enough ask the questions about education that need asking in Washington. Those are substantive questions. They are not chiefly institutional process questions, like, Should there be a Department of Education? There are very important management questions, of course. There always are. But the issues that need examining are, Why are we doing this in education? What do we need to do in addition to what we're already doing in education? Where do we need the money, and why?

Education is not a minor question in Washington. It is a very serious question. Those in the education community make a very serious mistake in thinking because there are few people who are familiar with education issues in Washington, that education is not important. It *is* important, but it simply is seldom addressed in substantive ways in discrete, easily identifiable domains relating to education. Another problem is that education issues are handled by overburdened Congressional staff members. (Incidently, Congressional staff members, I suspect, play a far larger role in shaping national education policy than do members of Congress themselves. That is a largely overlooked segment of the education policy-making community in Washington.)

Where Are Educational Policy-Makers?

There *is* concern about education; it simply does not necessarily emanate from the Education Division of the Department of HEW, or the education committees on the hill. The federal government has gotten into education for many other purposes. A lot of attention is being given to education, and that attention clearly impacts upon education policy. The lesson of that fact is this: Those who wish to impact federal education policy need to look toward policy-makers throughout the government—not just those in the Education Division of HEW or the education committees in Congress.

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Federal Education Policy: The Scene Today

Ellen Hoffman

The Mood of the Congress

There is currently a state of ambiguity in federal education policy and policy-making. Consider, for example, the mood of the Congress. The predominant feeling now seems to be a tone of budgetary restraint, a tone which follows the recent passage of Proposition 13 in California. In reading the Congressional Record, one finds that there is hardly a member of Congress who does not have some sort of scheme for permanently limiting the size of the federal budget. That has become quite the thing to do and, of course, it is an election year, so that cannot hurt. Many new bills, the likes of which have never been seen before, are being introduced, and those bills say things like, "The federal budget may not be more than 'x' percentage of the gross national product." There are many such schemes which would limit the federal budget. The fact of such proposed legislation indicates that budgetary restraint is going way beyond the traditional ranks where fiscal conservatism has long been popular, and has moved into the mainstream of Congressional political feelings. Another sign of this attitude emerges in Congress's action on appropriations bills. Every time an appropriations bill goes to the floor these days, there seems to be a motion for a two percent across-the-board cut. These sorts of resolutions and proposals are being made with increasing frequency. We are going to be seeing more and more budgetary cuts, at least for the rest of this session of Congress.

The mood of Congress in this session also leans away from education; it is not a priority area. That is demonstrated in a number of ways. For example, all of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) programs have been renewed in the current session. But the approach to that renewal was lackadaisical and bored. The House, as it always does, conducted a large number of hearings, but those hearings were very plodding, and no one got very interested or excited about the issues. The process was perfunctory in the Senate. They had about five hearings on the whole bill—a couple hundred pages of legislation. Again, no one really knew what was going on—or seemed to care very much. The point is that there were very few staff people and very few members who spent any time and energy on that major piece of legislation.

Congress and the Proposed Department of Education

Even more startling is my perception that, despite a lot of talk, the Department of Education is not a very big issue as far as the Congress is concerned. That has been *made* an issue, but primarily by groups that we do not often consider education groups. The Department has, in large part, been made an issue by people who run food service programs in schools, by Indian tribes, by people who fear that a Department of Education will permanently pigeonhole them. Aside from one or two obvious exceptions, such as the National Education Association, and, more recently, the American Federation of Teachers, the proposed Department is not a hot issue on Capitol Hill. There aren't too many members of Congress who really care one way or the other about a new Department. That is one of the reasons why the concept is not getting off the ground. It is not an issue on which those in Congress will stake their political lives, unless they are very closely tied to, for example, the NEA, which has been the major force behind the creation of the Department.

The Balance of Power

That brings us to the subject of the balance of power. Congress has maintained a strong position in the balance of power as it relates to education policy-making. Thousands of people in the Executive Branch work on education, yet they produce very little. In Congress, on the other hand, very few individuals—staff or members—become involved in education. But Congress is in control.

There is no such ability to control education in the

Executive Branch. We have a Commissioner of Education and an Assistant Secretary for Education, Special Assistants to Secretary Califano, and people in the Planning and Evaluation Office of HEW who write the important legislation along with those in the Legislative Office. And yet many of those people probably have not even met or talked to each other. It is difficult to get anything meaningful done in such a communication vacuum.

Other Problems

There are other problems. It is difficult for the bureaucracy to produce. The new President and the Secretary of HEW began by appointing task forces to develop recommendations for the renewed ESEA legislation; it took over a year for them to develop recommendations and to get them to the Hill. When they got there, the House and Senate had officially finished their hearings. Only after a lot of yelling and screaming did the two Houses of Congress decide that they would let the administration—and that's the way they put it, "let the administration"—present its own proposals and defend its own bills. Only four or five people on the Hill are actually writing these bills—hundreds of people in the Executive Branch are serving on task forces—and they still can't produce anything in sixteen months. That is one big reason why Congress is able to retain control of education policy.

That situation, of course, results in quite a bit of antagonism at worst, and skepticism at best, on the part of Congress toward the Executive Branch and its ability to produce. When the Administration's proposals get to Congress, they often do not get the thorough consideration that might be appropriate—or, at least, that most of us would think they ought to receive in a government that has three branches with some sort of equal division of power.

The Fragmentation of Education Policy-Making

Another problem, of course, with the question of balance of power is that the Executive Branch has so many people in so many different places making education policy. One of the factors that is least known and most important is an institution called the Office of Management and Budget (OMB). That is an arm of the White House, the budget overseer for the entire federal government. No agency of the federal government may present testimony in Congress—or take a position on any piece of legislation—without having it cleared through the Office of Management and Budget. There is a tremendous concentration of power there, yet there are very few people.

The Concentration of Executive Branch Power

The most definitive answers, in terms of "yes," "no," or "this is our position" lie with OMB. Task force recommendations go to a couple of people at the Office of Management and Budget; if they go back to the Secretary of HEW and say, "You have to cut two billion dollars this year," all the Secretary can do is argue the issue. If he loses, he loses. He has a right of appeal and discussion. He can bring to bear whatever political powers he has, but ultimately the decision is made by the Office of Management and Budget.

Another factor in the balance of power this year is the question of a Department of Education. That issue has drained off a lot of education policy-making energy. That is not contradictory to the fact that there is in general not much interest in education in the federal government. Rather, to the extent that there are *any* interest and time for education, for better or for worse, that time and energy are being concentrated on debating the rather bureaucratic issue of a new Department of Education. Therefore, less attention is being given to other current educational issues.

Smaller Interest Groups

Fragmentation of the smaller interest groups in the Washington educational community is another cause of the vacuum in federal education policy.

Over the past nine years, we at the Children's Defense Fund have learned the crucial importance of parents' involvement in their children's education. Parents represent a vast, untapped source of public support for our schools, since they have a direct, vital, and legitimate interest in what goes on in their schools. Parents are the natural ally of public schools.

David Rice
Children's Defense League

54 There is a proliferation of splintered, fragmented education interest groups, each of which has its own five or ten or fifteen million-dollar program. They remain relatively effective at going to the one person on the hill who they can count on to get their appropriation or an amendment every year, but they do not get involved in the larger educational issues; they just follow their own self-interests. Now that is important. Self-interest is not necessarily negative. The problem is that those interest groups do not pay attention to broader issues.

Current Issues in Federal Educational Policy

What are the current issues in federal education policy? First, of course, is the proposed Department of Education. My view is that that is really a relatively non-substantive issue. I do not believe that the proposal for a separate department is a definitive statement that the federal government, once and for all, is about to try to control national education policy. Such control simply cannot come to be as long as we maintain the current bureaucracy. Unless there is some sort of significant change, there is no reason to believe a separate department is going to change our education policy in any fundamental way. It may change our educational politics a bit, but I am not sure that it is going to help education in the political arena at all.

There are, for instance, real questions about what would happen to education's alliance with labor if a separate department were formed. There are real questions as to whether or not any child in any school—or any adult for that matter—would receive any benefit at all from the creation of a Department of Education. The arguments that have been advanced for a department are almost entirely public relations arguments concerning visibility, and are built upon the mistaken assumption that great new amounts of money will become available in the foreseeable future for education if this department is created. The whole tone of the country, as expressed

by a budgetarily conservative Congress, will militate against that, at least for the foreseeable future.

Other Current Issues

A second current issue is the Elementary and Secondary Education Act renewal this year. Again, the issues in that area are hardly on the cutting edge of education. The issues there were mostly bureaucratic, formalistic, and mechanistic. Paperwork, for example, was a big issue. It is important to those who must complete forms—especially if that takes time away from teaching—but, again, that is not a substantive educational issue.

Another issue which emerged this year, and which will continue to be evident, is the question of competency testing in education. There were attempts, within the context of the Title I grant formula, to establish a concept of educational disadvantage. That would have meant that the program would not just give money to children on the basis of income, but also on the basis of educational deficiency or disadvantage. There will be an increase in the development of such schemes as more and more states get into competency testing and as suburban areas express their feeling that they have been neglected or short-changed.

We have also faced a "sleeper" issue this year. That has been the question of the role of private education. Tuition tax credit proposals have gotten people excited this year. That is a direct function of private sector concerns, particularly religious-supported schools, which are in a financial crunch and are looking for almost any way to increase their resources. As a result, bills approved by both the House and the Senate include a number of provisions which are designed (generally within the limits of constitutionality) to squeeze out every possible penny from every existing federal source to help the private education sector. In fact, something called the Office of Private Schools may be established within the federal government. More and more, private schools are finding their way through the public policy process. The Catholic Conference, for example, has been extremely active; they have been lobbying very hard on the Hill, and they, as much as any interest group, are responsible for the strength behind the proposals for a tuition tax credit.

Another issue that continues to surface is related to civil rights; that is predictable, and yet there doesn't seem to be anything anybody can do about the turmoil that Congress is always getting itself into over civil rights issues. Those issues come up in certain ways. There are always amendments to the appropriations bills to prevent the federal government from collecting ethnic data. There are anti-busing amendments. More often than not, floor debate on major education bills turns out to be a debate on some sort of hair-splitting constitutional arguments about how to deal with anti-busing and anti-civil rights amendments that have been tacked on at the last minute and which never really were the basic purpose of the legislation.

Upcoming Issues in Congress

What is going to happen in the Ninety-sixth Congress in education? We can predict that the focus will be on higher education and vocational education. Those programs are being renewed. Student aid is probably going to be the single biggest educational issue of the year. When the tuition tax credit started gaining strength this year in Congress, the Administration came up with its own plan for helping students, the Middle Income Student Assistance Act. The Congress is going to be looking carefully at our existing student aid programs and their effectiveness in reaching the people who need them. There is of course the increasing interest and power of the middle class in this area, which must be dealt with. There is going to be a real debate over the issue of aid to the middle class.

Other than that, teacher training and teacher center legislation will be up for renewal. The Teacher Center Program and the Higher Education Act will also be reconsidered and renewed. These and other issues will be the concern of the next Congressional session. Obviously, many of those issues do not relate directly to education. Equally obvious is my central point: Without leadership in education, the present inertia will continue to ensure a vacuum in federal education policy.

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The Minimum Competency Movement: The Scene Today

Chris Pipho

The Political Genesis of the Movement

The minimum competency testing movement first surfaced about two years ago. The subsequent spread of that movement is an unusual phenomenon in the history of American education. I don't think any other educational issue in this country has surfaced and moved so quickly without the help of educators. Any connection of the minimum competency movement to educators is tenuous. That is an oversimplification, and I am sure there are people on both sides of the issue who would say that educators are working hard behind the scenes. That is possible, but people who have written the legislative bills and those who have drafted the state board policies, for the most part, have gotten their push from non-educators. Educators may say, "If students haven't learned to read by the time they're in the eleventh grade, a test won't teach them to read." Legislators say, "Yes, I know that. But there was enough pressure for change—there was enough indication within the public schools that something was needed—that a test, a mandated minimum competency test, was a responsive, highly visible legislative act. This is a first step in bringing change to the school system." Such a legislator knows full well that the test is not the final answer—that remedial efforts, new instructional programs, teacher aides, lower class size, and a lot of other improvements are needed. But they felt that minimum competency testing is a first, visible step in that direction.

A Rapidly Growing Movement

As of now, 35 states have taken action to mandate that some form of minimum competency standards be set—on a statewide basis—for high school graduation. The remaining 15 states may not immediately follow suit, but many of them have blue ribbon commissions, task forces, or other studies now underway. Others have joint resolutions of legislative bodies which call for such studies. On the

other hand, two states have announced that they are not going to move into this arena at all.

Variations Among States

I would like to briefly review events in these 35 states in order to provide a feel for the whole movement toward minimum competency testing. The 35 states have, either at the policy or legislative level, called for the setting of academic performance standards. In some cases, those standards are for high school graduation; in a few cases, they are for grade promotion; in other cases, they guide the identification of students needing remedial assistance. The setting of standards for grade promotion of high school graduation has been highly visible in the media. Not all states, however, mandate a test. Generally, the state-mandated action falls into different categories. Some states have a state standard and a state test; Florida is a good example. Others have a state standard and a local test. Some states have a local standard and a local test; Oregon and a few other states are examples of that strategy. Finally, some states provide local freedom in this area.

The media often give the impression that all states are implementing similar programs. In reality, however, minimum competency programs differ quite widely from state to state. In fact, in some ways, this whole movement reflects the governmental structure that exists within states. Those states that have traditionally had strong central state control over education—state-adopted textbooks and curricula, for example—have by and large maintained control in this area. Those states were the first to move into this arena. Among those states where local control is a reality, where it is not just rhetoric, only Kansas has enacted minimum competency legislation—and that bill only calls for a two-year pilot testing program.

Citizen Involvement

A closer look at the state mandates reveals that the writing or selection of minimum competency tests is primarily a state function; local districts are, however, involved both informally and formally. Formal commissions or task forces are sometimes created by new minimum competency laws or state board mandates. In Maine, for example, the law specified what organizations would have representatives on the statewide commission on minimum competency testing. The commission conducted hearings with citizens, asking them what they expect of a high school diploma and what kinds of items they would want on a minimum competency test. After setting those standards, the commission solicited help in selecting and writing tests. That commission had two people from the state teachers' association, two from school boards, administrators, and citizens at-large. Other states have used some combination of such groups. Citizen involvement has been a strong thread running through all of the programs.

Uses of Minimum Competency Testing

In the first year and a half of this movement, the legislation usually called for a test for high school graduation or grade promotion purposes. Most of the legislation this year—three or four bills were passed this year—is calling for an "early warning" concept. The legislation calls for testing in several grades throughout the school continuum, making this approach an early warning system. This approach is not necessarily tied to grade promotion or graduation.

Grade promotion is mentioned in legislation in four states—Florida, Arizona, California, and Maryland. However, that is not as easily tied down as is high school graduation. There is a general feeling that social or automatic promotion is an ingrained part of the American school system—and a suspicion that it is getting worse every day. The state of South Carolina has surveyed local districts for figures on the number of students retained in their grade levels over the last ten years. They found that the number of students being held in a grade level over the last

Our efforts related to the Women's Equity Act have taught us that it is most important to approach our targets on the basis of their current beliefs and values, and to begin working from that point. There is little hope of success in changing attitudes and practices if we begin by introducing a wide range of concerns which may be well beyond the threshold of receptivity of our target groups.

Jane Duvall
United States Office of Education

decade has not really changed. My conversations with district personnel in other states lead me to believe that that is the case in most areas. The issue of social or automatic promotion, then, is not very closely touched upon in the minimum competency testing regulations.

Remedial assistance for students is a common element in the state mandates for minimum competency programs. At least 24 of the 35 states mention this, and the rest imply it, at least in the state board regulations that support the legislation. In some states, remediation is a very large element.

Areas to be Tested

Reading, writing, and mathematics are the most often mentioned subject areas in which minimum competency tests will be involved. Generally speaking, if the state action comes through legislation, a paper-and-pencil test in reading, writing, and arithmetic is mandated. If a state board passed the ruling, more often than not, survival skills are mentioned. That distinction is not completely clean, but, generally speaking, the state boards have had more staff people working with them than have legislators, and the latter appear to be more concerned with traditional basic school skills.

Will It Work?

Will minimum competency testing work? Can it work? We really don't know, since the movement is in its infancy and will take some time to have any real effect, if it indeed does. We have a very hard mandate in some cases, but I would maintain that we will have very soft implementation. The Education Commission of the States, which is a large and diverse body, has adopted a policy statement on the issue of minimum competency testing:

> The Education Commission of the States supports state efforts to improve educational achievement and to increase educational attainment of underachieving students to levels which will enable them to participate effectively in society, including

obtaining and retaining a job. Setting standards for graduation, grade-to-grade promotion, or placement in programs and specifying methods for determining when these standards have been met are common practices in education. Some standards are set by states, and some by local school districts and schools. Teacher-made tests, department-wide examinations, standardized tests, minimum competency tests, teacher judgment, and demonstration of mastery by student performance are some of the methods used to determine when people have met the standards.

Use of minimum standards and minimum competency tests to determine when standards have been met is one option. There is not, however, a body of knowledge or research data to support a conclusion that this method is better than others. Therefore, the Education Commission of the States advocates that states and local districts adopt a comprehensive plan for setting standards and establishing criteria to determine when those standards have been met. Such a plan should avoid the selection of standards that are too narrow and the reliance on a single assessment technique.

Educational Concerns

That statement clearly reflects some educational concerns. One such concern is the fact that such minimum competency tests are probably more complex to develop than even standardized tests. The process of setting standards is clearly a subjective one. More people can be involved and brought into the field—but test development is still a subjective process. The belief that a test can truly reflect and measure what is taught in the school program is open to question. If minimum competency tests survive for 20 or 50 years, we may still question whether such tests are adequate, whether they are measuring minimum standards.

There has been a trend toward opposition of minimum competency testing by teachers and professional associations. One reason for that trend is the feeling that minimum competency testing for students may become a way to measure the competence of teachers. There is some concern that the public may begin to say, "If some teachers in a school can bring their students up to grade level and others cannot, let's identify the latter group and get rid of them."

If that idea were expressed on a statewide level, obviously, teachers' associations probably ought to raise opposition. On the other hand, none of the 35 states have talked specifically about teacher competency in this context.

Six states have introduced separate teacher competency laws so far, and two states are already moving on competency testing for teachers, at least for the certification process. Four other states introduced laws this year, but none passed laws for a teacher competency test for recertification. That has been separate and apart from minimum competency testing for students, but educators are concerned that once there are minimum standards for students, minimum standards for teachers are only a short step away.

Summary

To summarize recent developments in minimum competency testing, 35 states have adopted such programs in a little over two and a half years. The movement has been pushed, for the most part, by non-educators. It has been, at least quietly, opposed by educators. Unlike many other educational issues, the minimum competency testing issue has raised a great deal of public, professional, and legislative interest

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Minimum Competency Programs and the Improvement of Education

Ronald Brandt

One Girl's Opinion

Last spring, a teacher who has administered minimum competency tests told me about a student in her class, a child who wanted to be a good girl—and a nice person. She always wears a dress to school, she's always well-mannered, and she always does everything the teacher asks. She came up to the teacher one day this year and said, "Why do we have to take these tests?" "Well," the teacher said, "We want to make sure we know what you've learned, and to keep careful records of that. We're all interested in that. Your parents are interested in it. The Board of Education is interested in it. The testing program is required by the State Board of Education." The little girl walked away and, under her breath, she said, "The hell with the State Board of Education."

Many of us feel that way these days. There are many opinions about minimum competency programs, and it seems that we're either for it or against it, depending on what *it* is. It can be many different things. There is no single *it*. There are, however, a number of questions that seem to be raised by our varied understandings of minimum competency testing.

The Screening Function

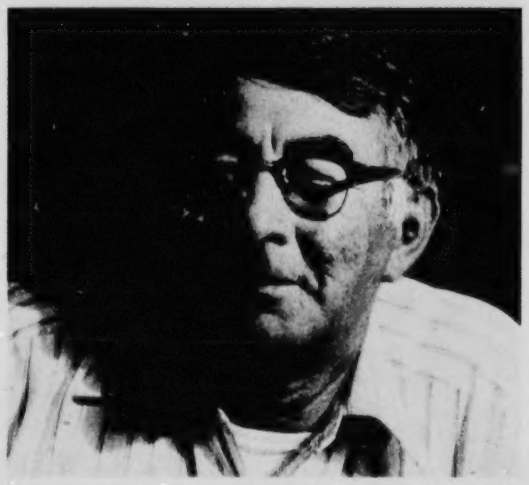
The first basic question is, Do we want the high school to serve a screening function by requiring some kind of minimum standards? Many people have thought about that function of sorting and selecting people for places of responsibility. Havighurst, for example, has said that schools serve the function of sorting and selecting people for places of responsibility. He has also said they serve the function of equalizing opportunity. He has pointed out the contradiction between those two functions: If education sorts and selects people, to a certain extent it cannot also equalize opportunity. Of course, the American public expects public education to perform both of those functions. Somehow or other, we have to find some way to make sure that education does equalize opportunity as well as sort and select.

In that regard, we do need to set minimum standards that all students are expected to meet eventually. But there should also be flexible time structures in which students can meet those standards. Further, we should also recognize that students with special learning problems may not meet the established standards. Do we, then, deprive those students of a diploma? I don't think so. We ought to be able to grant waivers to students who we have concluded cannot meet fixed standards once we have done all we can to help those students meet those standards.

What Does the Diploma Represent?

The basic question surrounding minimum competency standards is, What do we want the diploma to represent? It now represents the fact that a student has attended secondary school for several years and has learned some things that that student didn't know before entering that school. That suggests that special education students should receive a standard high school diploma. The diploma is simply recognition that a student has in fact gone to school and has done his or her best to learn as much as he or she could. The high school transcript is another question. Transcripts should clearly show what students have or have not learned. That is a performance record, and is different from a diploma, which suggests a stopping point in the learning process.

A second question related to minimum competency standards is, Should there be minimum standards for grade-by-grade promotion? I do not think there should. That would be feasible if every child administratively classified as a third grader is taught the same thing. But no third-grade classroom is homogeneous. That means educators had better not plan for homogenity. We should specifically plan for variation of students' learning and abilities



within a single classroom. The current talk of social promotion is a red herring, and the public needs to understand that social promotion cannot be blamed for the inability of some students to learn as well as we would like them to learn. Children simply do not all have the same capacity to learn. Benjamin Bloom, in his book on mastery learning, proposes that all students do have pretty much the same abilities to learn. But there are very few schools that are organized to try to reach uniform achievement in the way Bloom says we should try to do it.

Educators' Shortcomings

The interesting point raised by the minimum competency movement is that a certain amount of pressure can be exerted in places like Florida, where the schools are told to improve students' meeting of standards and are held publicly accountable for that improvement. And yet there is very little evidence that we can in fact change the achievement levels of students, regardless of their social level. We in fact do not have the professional knowledge or capabilities at this point to make all students achieve at average or above-average levels. Aside from the fact that that is a statistical impossibility, we simply do not know how to do it. While around 85 percent of our population is now literate, our aspirations for educating every child are so high that all of us are dissatisfied with educational performance.

I have been asked how we can fill the gap between what we recognize as variability in learning ability and our educational aspirations. Well, what are we doing? We are getting more specific about what we expect of students, and we're trying to use the data that we gather to do something about helping individuals learn. We may be punitive in some cases to students who have not learned, for whatever reason. But in the long run, it seems to me, we should define a little more specifically what we expect of students. We should also not rely upon time frames—in the form of semesters or school years—as a basis for making decisions about students. Student performance should be the basis of our decisions.

We should be specific about what we expect—but we should not use some kind of paper-and-pencil test as the sole basis for deciding whether a student has met a particular criterion. Professionals who use various kinds of data intelligently are certainly preferable to the tests which are the heart of any minimum competency program.

Bandwagons and Land Mines

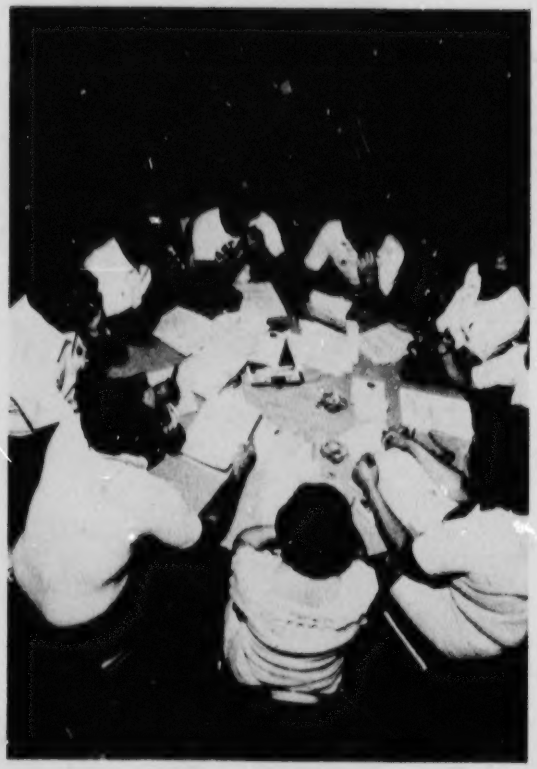
There is no doubt that the minimum competency movement is a bandwagon, and before we climb onto that bandwagon, we should understand that the road ahead is strewn with all kinds of land mines. One of those land mines is the fact that there is no scientific way to set standards. No one knows what all adults need to know in order to be successful. There is no scientific evidence in that area. There is quite general agreement on some general areas, but the standards cannot be fixed scientifically; a value judgment is inherent in the setting of standards.

That is one of the land mines in the minimum competency movement. Another is the fact that, if standards are set too low, the public asks, Do the schools really want that kind of mediocrity? If standards are set too high, some of the people who most need help are harmed. Standards and values are perhaps at the crux of the minimum competency movement, and we must first deal with our values as educators if our minimum competency standards are to be appropriate and have real meaning and utility for the educational process. And, of course, if the minimum competency programs are to have worth, they must be meaningful and promote learning.

Ronald Brandt is the editor of Educational Leadership

Minimum Competency and Competency-Based Education

William Spady



An Unfortunate Digression from Competency-Based Education

There is a tremendous amount of confusion between competency-based education and minimum competency testing. What began as a competency-based education movement has clearly become a minimum competency testing movement in the last two years. In the process of that evolution, we have forgotten what it would mean to schools if they created programs that were competency-based.

It is indeed unfortunate that the testing programs do not even lean toward a competency-based education approach. There are three grounds for that statement. First, minimum competency programs do not deal adequately with the question of competency, although some such programs come closer than others. Second, the concept of a competency base is misunderstood and misapplied in minimum competency programs. Finally, minimum competency programs represent a narrow and constraining conception of education and the educational process.

A Challenge to the Myths of Schools

A competency-based approach can have real impact on the current realities of our schools. A competency-based approach offers a real challenge to the sanctity of the isolated classroom—and to the sanctity of the school and its isolation from the world in which the student is supposed to survive, perform, and even flourish. Second, competency-based education offers a major challenge to the assumptions which guide the grouping and selecting of students. There are a variety of ways in which students could be grouped other than the sacrosanct practice of grouping by age and grade. The current practice is one of the most limited ways of grouping people.

Third, there are real problems with current educational approaches to assessment. Standardized tests are a problem, as are pencil-and-paper tests and surprise tests. And yet those are the only types of testing or assessment which are in wide use in our schools. Fourth, the use of semesters and the practice of defining courses according to those semesters should be challenged. Letter grading should also be examined. The current subject-matter structure and the concept of competency are very different. There is a real disjunction there, and educators are not honestly examining that disjunction.

Response to Failure . . .

How has the minimum competency movement responded to the false realities of education? First, the underlying theme of the competency movement is failure in schools. I would suggest that failure does not only have to do with the matter of students not passing tests and teachers not teaching well. Failure in education fundamentally has to do with the problem of our refusal to act on what we already know. We already know that most of our educational habits don't really work; habits like age- and grade-grouping are not the best way to do things; they are not the ways that are going to produce results. The failure that we are facing is the failure to acknowledge and act on what we already know.

It is often said that competency testing is needed because the high school diploma has lost its credibility. I agree. But I'm not sure we ever really knew what that diploma meant. The high school diploma and graduation requirements are essentially built on students passing courses during several time-based semesters. The unit of credit is a time-based phenomenon. It is not based on content; it is defined as seat-time. And academic standards are the standards of individual teachers. The decision to give an A, a B, or a C is a matter of personal judgment. That is a teacher-reference system. That is the system in which the public has no confidence.

Mixed Criteria

We must also consider the fact that, in terms of teacher-referenced standards and grading systems, we are dealing not only with the matter of personal judgment, but also with the matter of mixed criteria. Grades are a matter of performance, motivation, attendance, cooperation, and class performance norms. Grades depend upon whether a student's parents will cause a hassle if the student gets a low grade. All of those factors combine to yield the grade.

For altogether too long, we have tolerated that grading system. We have pretended to believe that the grading system really tells us something about student performance. In fact, it does not. It may say *something*, but we never know what that *something* is, precisely. The public is asking for some more precise information about that something. They want criteria they can believe in and count on. They are challenging the teacher-reference system of standards and certification in schools. That system, I would submit, will not change as a result of the minimum competency testing movement.

Capacity Outcomes and Competency Outcomes

The vast majority of educators, if forced to make a choice about what to substitute for teacher-reference standards, would clearly opt for curriculum-referenced outcomes. They would retain the subject-matter structure of the school, rely on the judgments of subject matter experts for student assessment, and work toward a capacity-based system. A capacity-based system would emphasize the individual building-block skills in a subject area. Basic skills in math, reading, and other subjects are fundamental capacities. Competencies are something else.

Most school people—and, I submit, those in the minimum competency movement—are interested in developing capacity outcomes, not competency outcomes. The school curriculum is not organized to develop and facilitate competency outcomes. Some states have declared that they want more than reading, writing, and arithmetic skills. They have said they want schools to deal with the realities of social survival in life roles.

The focus in such states is on the skills people need in their life roles. That was the major philosophical impetus behind the Oregon state board actions that triggered most of the minimum competency movement. But other states have moved increasingly toward testing capacities. The difference between a capacity-based orientation to school outcomes and a competency-based orientation has to do with the curriculum. In the case of competency-based orientation, the curriculum is life experience that leads to success.

Competency is the ability to demonstrate success in a life role activity. Competency is the ability to be successful in the things you do in your life. Being a student and passing school subjects is only one component of the kinds of skills and demands that can help people to be successful in their lives.

Another major alternative to a teacher-referenced system is different from capacity-based alternatives. It is more or less the alternative that most states have chosen; that is, they want to keep teacher-referenced standards and the teacher-referenced grading system, but they want to require that students read at norm-referenced levels. They are looking for a more objective indicator of student performance: The good old standardized test. That becomes the measure that will tell us something more reliable and valid than teacher-referenced standards. Of course, norm-referenced testing is facing increasing (and justifiable) questioning and challenges.

The accountability approach is very much based on the belief that people should pay the consequences of test results. Teachers, perhaps, should pay, but in most cases, kids pay the consequences. Kids may get so discouraged by test results that they drop out of school. "Well," educators say, "that's tough." We have really created an even worse problem. We have used our zeal for performance results to drive kids out of the educational process. But we are supposed to be trying to help them improve their educational experience. Teachers sometimes fear the accountability approach because they know that, when kids get labeled as "bad readers", it's only one small step down the line to the teacher getting labeled as a "bad teacher".

The Promise of Competency-Based Approaches

The overall competency approach—which includes the competency-based approaches as well as minimum competency testing—is intended to develop outcome standards that are more fixed and criterion-referenced. Competency-based education, unlike minimum competency testing programs, does not mean that all standards are predetermined for every student in every subject by some higher authority. There can be an enormous amount of choice in terms of which outcomes a student pursues. That is the difference between a minimum competency orientation and a competency orientation—the degree of choice given to students.

Competency-based education means fundamentally reversing the way in which we organize school now—away from fixed time to more flexible time, away from vague outcomes and standards to clearer, more concrete, fixed standards. That is what a competency-based approach is all about. And to achieve competency, rather than simply capacity, is to challenge all those myths, realities, and habits that we in schools are so determined to maintain. That is the challenge of true competency-based education, which I would, again and finally, point out is quite different from minimum competency programs.

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Issues in Teacher Certification and Licensing

Paul Pottinger

The Current Impasse

The arena of certifying teacher competence is surrounded by a vicious circle. The courts take a very practical approach; they continue to support existing assessment procedures, and will until educators find better ways to assess teacher competence. On the other hand, the major parties who develop certification systems take a reactive posture. They say there is no incentive for changing the existing system of certification. In a sense, the courts are saying, "When you do something differently, we will begin to push for that." Educators and researchers meanwhile continue to develop multiple-choice tests of knowledge, rather than measures of ability to teach, and refuse to change until the courts make them.

That impasse needs to be broken, but will probably only be broken by innovations outside of teacher certification. That suggests that we should look at teaching more broadly. Changes in assessment in business and industry are going to come to the courts' attention, and will give them a rationale by which to rule differently on tests and certification procedures such as the National Teacher Examination. I suspect that if education researchers and certifying system developers do not watch other fields, teacher certification will leave teachers behind, in terms both of the ability to have access to new jobs, and of mobility within and across professions. Those in other fields will become certified for what they can actually do, while teacher certification will continue to be based simply on what some program has said they have experienced. There will be no system to certify what teachers can actually do. The current teacher certification system merely states that a teacher has been through a process; it has nothing to do with outcomes.

An Input-Dominated System

Teaching certification is probably one of the most input-dominated certification systems in existence;

it has very little to do with what people can do, what performance they can demonstrate—it has to do with what procedures and processes they went through. Contrast that with the certification of paraprofessional mental health workers. The job market in that field is changing as institutions close. People who have been gainfully employed for years as psychiatric aides, technicians, and in other paraprofessional jobs now find that they have nothing to show in terms of documentable competent human service delivery skills. They are now looking for certification, first, because of the tightening market, and second, because competitors with college degrees pose a threat to them. Since they are not credentialed and have not been through bachelors' or masters' programs, they cannot opt for an input-oriented certification system. They cannot advocate program approval approaches because many of them have not been through such programs. They thus must advocate a competency-based system which allows them to demonstrate what they can do.

The Limitations of Outcome Orientation

Another example of changing certification patterns outside of the teaching professions is in industry. Those people are also looking to competence—but their incentive is a different one; it is often the profit motive. That motive of course has built-in measures. It is easy to assess. Teaching certification has attempted to become more outcome-oriented with the behavioral objectives approach, but, as others have pointed out, the specificity of that system has begun to trivialize education. As educators break down the job of teaching into molecules and particles and then somehow try to add up those minutes to teaching, many objections have been raised. Those who understand teaching as something beyond certain performances object in principle; others object because it is quite apparent that any ten people who can perform in certain objective areas are not necessarily appropriately and comparatively competent in a classroom. That is, those ten people are not equally competent. The problem is that competence in fact has to do with things other than accountable, observable, measurable behaviors. It has nothing to do with things like interest and the willingness to do certain tasks, with motivation and empathy, with the ability to analyze and think through problems, and with timing.

There is much more to good teaching than meeting simple behavioral objectives. We need to look at teaching not only in terms of formal education systems, but also in broad eco-system terms. That makes sense simply from the point of view of survival of the teacher certification system. Once the courts see that performance is related to the teaching task—rather than just input—once they can be shown a system in which outcomes can be measured and documented, they will no longer rely on the content validity approach, as they did with the National Teacher Examination. They will in fact have an alternative system to consider. They will be able to consider how teacher certification requirements relate to the job of teaching, not to the input process that can only optimistically hope to help people become competent teachers.

A Political Process

Of course, teacher licensing and certification is a political issue, one which becomes even more political when one considers that it involves professional certification by an occupational group for itself. The process of program accreditation further politicizes the issue. There have been cases of professions in which there is at least some evidence that practicing professionals have deliberately restricted the influx of people into the field. That may be seen particularly, for example, in the health field.

There is no question that licensing has evolved in the last 20 to 30 years into a major force in protecting the professionals, rather than the consumer. Teacher licensing falls into that category. There is little evidence on this point, but there has never been a case in which consumers have asked for licensing of a field; it has always been the professionals who ask for licensing. The status, economic power, and prestige that are gained by licensing are enormous.

Every occupational group which is or would be a profession desires licensing. There are certification bills introduced in state legislatures every year, most of which are passed. Even so, there are now literally hundreds of occupational groups which are licensed. That in turn allows those groups to control the education and training which are required to work in those occupations. The public policy issue which grows from that fact is the question of at what point protecting the public stops and protecting the professions' self-interests begins. Clearly, the certification and licensing of teachers must be developed in such a way that it both advances the public interest and aids the profession in its quest for excellence.

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Toward a Generic View of Teaching

Marty Corry

What Does It Take?

The question of teacher licensing is really a matter of certification, either through direct examination or through attendance at an approved teacher preparation institution. I would like to focus on the kinds of criteria which might guide considerations of certification and licensing: To ask the question, What does it take to be a teacher?

We have come a long way in developing new answers to that question. Several years ago, requirements for state certification were based primarily on course requirements. That has changed to some extent; we are moving increasingly toward the notion of competency-based or performance-based teacher education. We are moving away from ambiguous frames of reference, toward more specific criteria.

In the course of that progress, the courts and, increasingly, state legislators have begun to focus more and more on particular teaching skills. The trend toward increased specificity is certainly necessary if teaching is to be able to answer the questions the courts are asking about teacher competency. At the same time, and while not ignoring teaching skills or content competencies, it would be useful to take a somewhat broader view of the more generic skills needed in the teaching professions. The generic skills that might be applied in teaching are applicable to other human-service professions.

I would like to suggest that perhaps we take the view of the Sheriff of Jefferson County, Colorado, who recently advertised for deputies in one of the major philosophy journals. Included in the listing of hiring criteria, the sheriff indicated that preference would be given to those with Ph.D.s in philosophy, particularly those who had a specialty in early modern philosophy. He later defended that preference by saying that people with such backgrounds are well equipped to cope with the changing social conditions and to understand the conditions which have impacted upon those who fall into the arms of the law.

Put another way, we might consider the fact that it is not only educators who are involved in what we usually think of as teaching: Those in the military and in industry also teach. Industry, for example, spent between 40 and 100 billion dollars on education and training in 1977. A more exact figure depends upon how education is defined—but that is still an enormous sum spent to train employees. That training ranges from help in the basic skills through advanced skill training, to advanced accounting and chief executive development. That training, too, seeks to begin by identifying required competencies.

What Do Teachers Do?

The American Society for Training and Development has recently begun a research effort designed to identify what teachers do. They are checking with their members and surveying the literature. Their basic question is, What major tasks occupy teachers' time? That is admittedly not a sure-fire way of defining all teacher tasks, but the most important of twenty-five identified competencies was the task of designing learning experiences. Others included determining program content, conducting educational programs, applying concepts of human development, and keeping abreast of research, writing, and training activities. Establishing program objectives was also mentioned, as was determining program structure.

On the basis of that study and the other notions I have posited, I would suggest that we, first, reconsider what exactly teachers do. Second, we should define the role of teachers broadly, and include not only those who are teaching children or adults in traditional institutions, but also those in other professions. There is a great opportunity to share many different lessons among such a diverse group of teachers. There is certainly a large body of generic skills which all teachers share. If we can identify some of those generic skills across many fields, we can not only improve the teaching professions, but also provide individuals greater mobility in their personal and professional lives.

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Section Three

Responses

It sometimes seems as if we are not talking about real people when we discuss the issues of educational responsiveness. Too often, for example, we seem to talk about rules, laws, and regulations when we talk about the education of exceptional children. But the laws, the rules, and the regulations impact upon real flesh-and-blood people. I was recently talking to a blind student, whom I asked to tell me about the problems he faces in the classroom. He said, "My blindness is not a problem at all. I can hear well, and that's all I need, considering how most things are taught today. I can learn without being able to see. I get along pretty well in that way.

"But I do have problems as I associate with other students. For example, almost no one ever asks me what I did over the weekend. If they do try to make conversation, they most often ask me questions about my blindness, like how I manage to get around, how I get my homework done, and such. People ask me questions that result mostly from their curiosity. They don't ask me questions that indicate a desire to have close, personal contact with me."

Asa Hilliard
San Francisco State University

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The Teacher Corps rules and regulations governing Program 78 projects state that each project must have multicultural education objectives designed to improve the competencies both of all educational personnel employed by the project schools and of Interns. Those in projects must be trained to provide education that is multicultural and to be knowledgeable about and sensitive to the needs of diverse cultures, regardless of the ethnic or cultural population being served by the project. While a project may be operating in an all-Black school district for example, training should enable Interns and teachers to become aware of and appreciate cultural diversity itself, and be able to use this knowledge in the teaching-learning process. Teachers and Interns should be provided with training which enables them to function effectively in any ethnic or cultural setting.

In addressing the multicultural requirement of the Teacher Corps, one must be constantly aware of the fact that multicultural approaches do not refer to minority groups alone. Education that is multicultural also includes the majority group. Multicultural education should not be perceived as synonymous with bilingual or bicultural education. Education that is multicultural in the Teacher Corps context addresses the diversity which cuts across all cultural and ethnic groups and mines that diversity for the contributions which it can make to the education of all children.

Gwendolyn Austin
Teacher Corps—Washington

What Is Program 78?

William L. Smith

Basic Themes

The basic themes of the new Teacher Corps design, which will begin with Program 78, are collaboration, documentation, planning, training, evaluation, and dissemination. These six themes will in large part guide the design and structure of our five-year projects. Program 78 affords each project the opportunity—and the luxury—of using its first year to collaboratively plan the four subsequent years. Projects must capitalize on this opportunity to plan, and must do so by developing systems for meeting project goals. This will help to insure that projects are successful. We at the Teacher Corps-Washington office will devote our time and resources to help the field make the best use of the developmental year.

Among the six themes I have listed, the need to integrate documentation, evaluation, and dissemination are especially important. In some instances, these processes are inseparable. Indeed, the law sees the Teacher Corps as a demonstration program. In some way, therefore, whatever projects do should be conceived within the context of the project as a demonstration activity.

The Teacher Corps Mission

The law governing the Teacher Corps mandates that we work for the improvement of educational opportunities for children attending schools with a high concentration of low-income families. It also allows us to assist institutions of higher education to broaden their preservice teacher preparation programs, as well as to develop inservice programs for teachers now in the classrooms. We have combined these missions into one strategy, hoping that we will be able to solidify and improve our support to those schools, universities, and communities with which we are associated.

Projects will also be laying the foundation of an institutional change design during their initial phases. That design will be based on the four outcome strategies described in the Teacher Corps regulations; those are: 1) the improvement of school climate; 2) the improvement and/or development of educational personnel development systems; 3) the continuation of those improvements after federal funding; and 4) the adoption/adaptation of these improvements in other institutions, agencies, and communities.

The improvement of a school's climate requires getting the people who will be most affected by the project involved in the decision-making process. Early involvement of such constituents will improve their attitudes about participation in the project. This involvement will also allow them to better use the various resources available to the local project.

The improvement and/or development of an educational personnel development system, as Robert Bush pointed out at the 1977 Teacher Corps National Conference, cannot be accomplished by the single institution working alone. It cannot be done unilaterally by either the university, the community, or the schools; nor can it be done in a linear fashion. But by working together, with community cooperation, real improvements in teacher education are possible. The Teacher Corps can help bring this about as we strive to make those difficult but necessary improvements in the educational personnel development system of our schools.

The third outcome addresses strategies for continuing the project's improvements after federal funding ends. It is important that projects institutionalize the improvements they have developed and installed. Finally, adaptation must occur through dissemination. Project improvements should be disseminated to both Teacher Corps projects and to the larger educational community.

Special Emphases

One special emphasis in Program 78 is on education that is multicultural. We Americans live in a pluralistic society, and many of the schools most impacted by Teacher Corps projects serve minority

children who come from a wide array of subcultures. The commitment of Teacher Corps-Washington is to help projects develop strategies to provide educational opportunities that show an appreciation for the child's cultural background, as well as of the community's heritage.

Another Teacher Corps emphasis is on diagnostic and prescriptive teaching. Over the years, we have learned that many teachers are frustrated because they are unable to identify and diagnose special learning needs and to then prescribe learning activities for children with special needs in the regular classroom. By law, the Teacher Corps can help projects prepare teachers to deal effectively with all pupils in the regular classroom. We can draw from the field of special education for tools to help regular classroom teachers. Indeed, Public Law 94-142 has implications for the regular classroom teacher *and* the administration of schools generally. Those implications cannot be dismissed.

Collaborative Decision-Making

The policy board of a Program 78 project is a collaborative decision-making body comprised of the local superintendent of schools, the dean of the college or school of education, and the community council chairperson. One of our concerns is that the community council chairperson may be the most consistently present member at the meetings of the policy board. This may cause the dean and superintendent to become defensive when they realize that the community council chairperson is providing the real continuity on the board. Furthermore, some of our people in the field have expressed the fear that the dean and superintendent may strive to develop a system to limit the policy-making powers of the community person. We hope that that will not happen. Rather, it is our hope that the superintendent, dean, and council chairperson will develop a system of joint decision-making to carry out their functions.

As to membership, the policy board has a number of options. While it is not mandatory that the teachers' organization be represented on the board, we strongly recommend including such representation. Since the policy board expects to work with and for teachers, it makes sense to have them represented on the decision-making body.

The State Education Agency (SEA) could also have representation on the board, but we do not expect this to occur. It would be difficult for the SEA liaison to sit on the board of a project and to later find it necessary to pass judgement on whether the local project has carried out its objectives. (I should say that we are building into our monitoring practices an SEA liaison person who will in some way be closer to the local projects than we are in the Washington office. These SEA liaisons will work closely with Teacher Corps Program Specialists to help local projects attain their objectives.)

The Community Council

Each local Teacher Corps project will also have available the services of a Local Community Council Consultant, who will be a valuable resource in getting the Community Council elected and settled in. It is important to remember that the elected Community Council may not want to continue using the consultant who was chosen by the project staff, and may choose a new consultant. That is not an inappropriate development; the role of such consultants is to provide projects with specific services, such as orchestrating the election and maintenance of the community council.

Projects must understand that the Community Council does not itself control the project. The Community Council is an equal partner in determining how to improve the climate of learning for children in the project schools. Program 78 provides each project with the resources to develop community-based activities. The provision of those resources is in response to our recognition that the community component has in the past been the weakest link in the project chain. We have tried a

number of methods to involve the community in our projects, but we have only been moderately successful. The community component is now part of the law; therefore, the process projects use to ensure that a credible group represents the community is vitally important. Only by making the Community Council work can we safely say that the schools truly belong to the community. Remember, the schools belong to the people, and it is those in the schools who must serve community needs.

Feeder Schools

With few exceptions, every project must now serve schools in a feeder system design. There are two major purposes for that requirement. First, it enables the university to use all of its resources to address some of the problems being faced at all levels of schooling; second, it provides the district with a variety of resources at each level of schooling.

Training the Entire School Staff

In the past, it has been very difficult to obtain authorization for a Teacher Corps project to provide training for an entire school staff. For a variety of reasons, the Congress has been reluctant to provide for training for educational personnel, other than teachers. We have kept returning to the Congress, hoping for authorization to include principals in the program; we are convinced that there is little hope for real improvement in schooling without the direct involvement of the principal. We do now have such authorization for Program 78 projects. Thus, principals can now be involved in projects through training activities. For example, we recently surveyed project principals; they indicated a need to learn how to work more effectively with the community. They also wanted to learn how to help faculty members work with the community. Congress has now given us the option to include principals in our training designs, and we will use that opportunity to help principals develop the

The Teacher Corps Youth Advocacy projects attempt to develop a union between interested elementary and secondary schools and the inservice training of teachers who work with troubled youth. We also work with incarcerating facilities in attempts to develop and share skills and experiences which have some promise for working effectively with troubled youth. We begin by asking those who work in treatment centers, detention centers, training schools, or corrections schools what they feel they need in the way of new skills and knowledge. We then try to match those needs with resident skills and knowledge of public school teachers so that the total group can share information and help each other. The projects are also attempting to facilitate the reentry of detained youths into their communities and schools after they are released from institutional settings.

Clarence Walker
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management skills needed to use the various resources available through Teacher Corps — and to thereby improve the learning climate of their schools.

Comprehensive Technical Assistance

This year there is considerable technical assistance available to projects. There are times in the life of a project when it becomes important for it to face the fact that it is having problems and needs help. We have thus designed various forms of technical assistance to address this need. First, there is the Site Specific Technical Assistance contract, which is optional except to first time projects. Site Specific Technical Assistance is intended to help projects with those problems which are related to start-up. The services of the Site Specific Technical Assistance contract are also optionally available to other Program 78 projects at their request during the year to work on other problems.

The second form of technical assistance is provided by the regional networks. A network is a group of projects linked by their geographic location. The primary purpose of a network is to alleviate the feelings of isolation of project staffs, whether they be in rural or metropolitan areas. This bringing together provides a mechanism through which Project Directors, especially, can interact. It develops a commonality of purpose, a sense of program unity. A network usually consists of 12 to 15 projects; each network has an Executive Secretary and a Board of Directors, which is made up the region's (or state's) Project Directors.

Additional technical assistance will be offered to projects through a number of contracts. First among those is the Evaluation contract, which will conduct a multipurpose evaluation of the activities, processes, and interrelationships of project participants over the five years of Program 78 and four years of Program 79. A second contract is the Demonstrable Elements contract, which will assist the Teacher Corps in accomplishing required programmatic outcomes related to the demonstration of the effectiveness of local project elements identified as "demonstrable", to other educational agencies and institutions. A third contract related to technical assistance is the Dissemination contract, which calls for the design and piloting of a dissemination system. The system will have two components: an internal information-sharing process for Teacher Corps products and practices, and a process for validating and disseminating such proven products and practices to external audiences. Fourth, a Cost-Benefit contract focuses upon the potential of cost-benefit analyses within the Teacher Corps. The Cost-Benefit contract will develop data collection and reporting formats and training materials to enable local project personnel to implement independently the cost-benefit model.

Next, the National Council of States on Inservice Education contract is intended to foster communication among SEAs, Teacher Corps projects and networks, and the Washington office on matters pertaining to the program and its policies and procedures. It also serves as a forum for the discussion of issues related to the Teacher Corps and SEAs in areas broadly related to pre- and inservice education, certification, and licensing. Sixth, the Developmental Training Activities contract supports and coordinates Teacher Corps developmental training efforts and related activities. Those activities have included the Corpsmember Training Institute, Pilot Teacher Workshops, the National Conference, Project Directors' Conferences, and Follow-Up Training Activities. Seventh, the Teacher Corps Associates contract develops a training model using as a basis the preparation of a cadre of individuals from diverse backgrounds who have demonstrated educational leadership potential in the schools, institutions of higher education, or communities served by Teacher Corps.

The Documentation Process

Each Program 78 project will have a Documentor-Evaluator, who must be provided with a sense of independence. At times this may be difficult because it means letting go of part of one's territory. The Documentor-Evaluator will be wearing two hats; that person will be serving the local project *and* providing data for the national evaluation of the program. The national evaluation contractor has the responsibility of learning from the local Documentor the unique local documentation and evaluation process. The national evaluation contract must also provide the local project Documentor with the wherewithall needed to feed data directly into the national evaluation process. No doubt the first thing the Project Director will say upon hearing this is, "No way! No one is going to send out any data about this project without my approval." We are, however, asking projects to maintain their trust and confidence in the person they have selected to be the project Documentor. Project teams must keep the faith that this person will be loyal and, by virtue of training, capable of the professional detachment needed to look at data objectively. In order to profit from and overcome our mistakes, we must first be able to identify them. That is why we are interested in those aspects of projects that fail, as well as those that succeed.

In Conclusion

This first year of Program 78 will be difficult and complex—there are many new processes to put into place. The success of Teacher Corps Program 78 depends upon how well each locai project puts the pieces into place.

I am very proud to be part of the Teacher Corps. To keep up-to-date and responsive, we must know what problems you in the field are facing. We must then provide resources to help you solve those problems. For 13 years, we in the Teacher Corps have been on the cutting edge; we are there because you are there.

Today we start on a new five-year endeavor. I am sure that we will have many good times together. We may also have times filled with tension. But that is the small price we must pay for collaborating. It is a small price to pay to serve those children who have not had the opportunities that more affluent children have had. We therefore have an obligation to help those persons—the teachers and administrators—who work most directly with the children of the poor. This cannot be done by a single institution. It must be done collaboratively—by each of us giving and taking.

William L. Smith is Director of the Teacher Corps.

Using Schools: Toward an Extended Day Concept

Jack Minzey

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Not a New Idea

The concepts of community education and community-based education are not particularly new concepts, either to the Teacher Corps or to education in general. In fact, the history of community education is important if we are to develop a clear perspective of the idea; likewise, we must also look to the future in order to understand where we are today. Community education is an idea that has been languishing, an idea that has had various degrees of success over the years. Many people who now hear about community education are very quick to point out that they were doing it 20, 30, and even 40 years ago. And they are often right.

A New Approach

There are, however, some new aspects of the community-based movement; first, it has changed its approach. Community education began as a set of add-ons; we're very good at that in public schools, as you well know. We don't integrate new school programs; we add them on to what already exists. We consider the problems in such a way that we derive all sorts of separate educational components: driver's education, health education, art education, and vocational and technical education. Now we are talking about adding on moral education. For the last 30 or 40 years, community education has sought to become an add-on to the regular school program; now, however, it seeks to become an integral part of the school setting.

Definition Trouble

It is also important to try to understand just what we mean by community-based education. Like many other disciplines, community-based education has definition trouble. We could spend a day, a week, or a month defining community-based education. Some people say it's simply community education; some say it's sort of adult education; some say it has a recreational flavor. We could go on and on with definitions, and would finally get to talking about what we mean by "community" and what that is. After all, we could spend forever defining education and its relationship to schooling.

Definition is a long, laborious process. As part of that process, I would like to make some distinctions between terms. First, there is "community education." It is trite to say that term means exactly what it says: Education of the community. But that *is* what it implies. To me, that term means that there is a literal expectation that hundreds and thousands of individuals and organizations are in the business of education. It is very high-handed for any one group or organization to think that it has a corner on the education market—that they are the only ones who educate. Education is done by people and by organizations. It's done by unions and companies and business and industry and colleges and community colleges and YMCAs and YWCAs. There are many, many people and many, many organizations in the business of education.

The Community School

The role of a school in that context is, of course, broad. Community-based efforts of the schools are one way of helping community education happen. Thus, community education represents a philosophy of education. The community school is one — and only one — of many methods of helping community education take place. A community school does not provide *all* community education.

What, then, is a community school? What are the components of such an operation? Why are those components important? Let me try some answers to those questions. First, a community school would obviously maintain its regular Kindergarten-through-12 program. Schools are the only institutions currently designed to carry out that function. Some changes should, however, occur in that program. For instance, the term community-based implies there ought to be some community aspects in the program's operation. Unfortunately, our

public schools have moved toward consolidation and centralization so completely that they have moved away from community involvement. It was originally intended that control of our public schools should be in the hands of the public. I have never read of a court case that did not indicate that the community has the right to decide what will be taught in the schools; the role of the professional is to decide how that shall be done.

I fear, however, that we have not maintained that proper posture; I see many professionals now who want to decide both *what* should be taught and *how* to teach it. I would hope that that K-12 function in community schools would become more responsive to the curricular mandates of the community. I would think that the K-12 school program would want to bring community into the school and to take the school into the community. The community could become a laboratory of learning, a laboratory with rich resources. Likewise, the tremendous community resources could be brought into the classroom to bear upon more formal teaching and learning. A new idea? Not at all. I just described what Carleton Washburne used to do in Winnetka, Illinois under the old Winnetka Plan. Washburne identified everyone in his community as a resource and brought those resources into the school whenever they could be more effective than teachers.

Better Use of School Facilities

A second component of a community school would be efforts to maximize the use of school facilities. It costs between six and fifteen million dollars, depending upon where you live in the United States, to build a high school. A junior high school costs two or three million dollars less; an elementary school costs between a quarter of a million and a million and a half, depending upon the cost of land. Despite that huge investment, we use those buildings less than ten percent of their clock-hour time. I would suggest that, before we build additional facilities, before we tear down, burn, or board up schools in response to

The community has historically been one of the weakest links in the Teacher Corps chain. Now, however, the community is by law an integral part of each local project. The place of the community in each project must be legitimized and used to benefit all partners in the Teacher Corps endeavor.

Community-based education must be strengthened. That can be accomplished when we all become absolutely comfortable with the fact that the schools do indeed belong to the community.

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the surplus of buildings; before we do that, we should consider some other ways of using those buildings.

A school building should be a community center that is *sometimes* used for the education of children. Now, if that bothers you emotionally, let me point out the fact that school buildings are only *sometimes* used right now. We could increase the use of our school buildings by 90 percent and never even impact the daytime program. I am suggesting that we use school buildings on a broader base, for broader uses, for broader clientele groups.

Increasing Knowledge and the Need to Learn

A third responsibility of the community school is to increase the educational opportunities for school-age children. There is much more to learn than there was just a few years ago. Our total body of knowledge doubled between the birth of Christ and the discovery of America; it doubled again by the time of the American Civil War; it doubled once more 50 years later; and now it doubles every three or four years. Twelve thousand new pages of printed material come out of the U.S. Government Printing Office every day. One thousand new books are published every day — that's 30,000 new books each month.

What have we done in the educational program of our school-age children to cope with such expanding knowledge? For one thing, we now have between 40 and 55 fewer contact days between teachers and students than we had ten years ago. What does that mean? That means that there is a significant loss for children. That loss is real and, for better or for worse, we are not going to change that cycle. But why should we limit learning to the period of the 180-or-so days of the school year? We can create community-based opportunities for learning outside of the regular school program. We have time before school; we have time after school; we have weekends; we have summers. People may say, "Yes, but kids won't stay around. They are tired." Well, I

answer, "Be sure you know the difference between 'tired' and 'bored'." I watch the kids going by my front door on their way home from school, and I don't see anybody carrying anybody on a stretcher; they're running, playing, and having a good time. They're not tired.

What's more, an expanded learning program offers an opportunity to reinstate intrinsic learning. I am suggesting that we could open up a new learning arena, an arena that would need additional teachers. That arena would involve parents. It would involve people learning outside the regular school time. That is a grand opportunity for new educational opportunities.

Adult Learning

The fourth component of a community school relates to providing an equal opportunity for adults. I cannot think of any set of goals and objectives for educational programs that apply only to kids between the ages of five and 18. With the number of people in this country over 18 who cannot functionally read or write; with the number of people over 18 who have health problems and health needs, it is illogical to call a halt to learning at age 18. Last year we finally decided that all special education clients will get special education services until they are 25. Does that mean they will all get well when they turn 26? That does not make sense, any more than it makes sense for us to discontinue educational experiences for those who reach age 18. I am talking about an equal educational opportunity for *everyone* in your community.

There is one other advantage to that approach. We do a good job with young people, cognitively. We don't do very much affectively; we do not do well at developing positive attitudes. I am strongly convinced that, if we are to change the next generation's attitudes about life, about school, and about each other, we have to change the attitudes of parents and the community in which they live. It is not enough to work with children in schools; children are at home most of the time, and children reflect their parents' attitudes. If you want children to change their minds, you had better get parents to change their minds first.

The Delivery of Services

A fifth component of community schools has to do with the delivery of services. Communities have plenty of services, but they have poor techniques for delivering those services. In fact, many communities are concerned about the fact that some services are duplicated by various agencies. There is a need to coordinate the delivery of services. That is because there are usually many services within each community, but those who provide services rarely know where the problems are — and those concerned with problems don't know where to find the appropriate resources. Those with resources and those with problems need to be told about each other.

Furthermore, those who have resources frequently assume that those with problems should come to them. Delivery, they say, is not their responsibility. They say, "I sent out brochures to say that I'm open for business. If you didn't come, it must be your fault." That shows a real weakness in perception. If you want to work with a community, you must help those you wish to serve to take advantage of your services. There are lots of reasons they do not come to agencies for help. They may not have transportation. They may be afraid to go out of their neighborhood. There may be no one to look after the kids. Maybe they're handicapped. There are many reasons why they don't appear at agencies' doors. Perhaps they're even unaware of the services which are available. Services must be delivered as close to the grass roots as possible.

Schools and the Bottom Line

What is the school's role in service delivery? Consider that, because of its location in a neighborhood, the school is able to identify community problems and matching resources. A neighborhood school can become a broker of services. Finally, there is a role for the public schools in generating and supporting community involvement. The public school can help to reactivate that cliché called "participatory democracy"; unless some institution shows the community how to organize itself, how to identify local leadership, how to make that process work, participatory democracy is not likely to happen. The schools can help in that process, and process in community-based education is the bottom line.

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It Can Be Done

Don Davies

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Excitement, Ferment, Hope

The Teacher Corps now seems to be one of the few places in the federal bureaucracy where there remains some excitement, some ferment, and some real hope of the kind that I experienced and was a part of in the late 1960s and the very early 1970s. There is a criticism couched in that statement; it is a relative comment based on my perception that there is not much going on that is very exciting or very interesting, that has anything to do with helping communities and schools change themselves.

The Teacher Corps is one hope for such change, but it certainly has not reached the heights it is capable of. I believe that it *can* be done. It *is* possible for schools, colleges, and communities to establish an honest relationship, to develop a productive process of planning and change in the schools. The evidence tells us that that *can* be done.

Crucial Teacher Corps Components

There are some components in the Teacher Corps program that are very important, that separate the opportunity of the Teacher Corps from the work that is being done by tens of thousands of other people who have federal education grants. Those components are, in many ways, legacies of the 1960s. I would like to point out those components, so that they are not taken for granted; they seem to be important to the Teacher Corps opportunity.

First, the Teacher Corps concentrates on the children who have historically and continuously been served badly by the public school system: Poor children in both urban and rural areas. Second, the Teacher Corps concentrates on only a few schools, so that limited dollars will not be so widely diffused that they cannot be seen and cannot do any good. Third, the Teacher Corps-Washington office and the Teacher Corps legislation do not dictate substance to local people; they simply assure a process and monitor projects to ensure that that process is adhered to. Fourth, the idea of improving schools in the Teacher Corps is directly tied to staff development; that is an obvious point, but it is missing in most programs funded by the federal government. In some programs, including those under Title I, there are rules *against* linking school improvement and teacher training. In my view, that's crazy.

Community and School Needs

Fifth, the Teacher Corps stresses building a program on the basis of what is apparently needed by the community and by the schools. The technical name for that is needs assessment; but what that really means is trying to build a school program on the basis of what is wrong and how it might be corrected. Sixth, the Teacher Corps gives its projects time. Time, first, to plan, and then time over four years to do something. That too has been missing in most federal efforts at educational reform. Most programs have provided grants for a year or two and then decided that either they worked or they didn't work — and whether they worked or not, the money was taken away. Finally, the program seeks to require a parity relationship for the school, the community, and the college.

The Origins of Local Community Councils

With the exception of the Head Start and Follow Through programs (which were only partly education programs), it took the educational establishment a long time to respond to the imperatives of community control. It was not until 1968, under the Educational Professions Development Act, that Office of Education programs began to talk about encouraging — and later about mandating — citizen participation. Since 1971, every new piece of education legislation dealing with elementary and secondary schools, including the revision in the Teacher Corps program, has included the requirement of a community advisory council. That is one major legacy of the unrest which we experienced in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Councils Abound . . . But are They Working?

The Institute for Responsive Education has just completed a study called *The Federal and State Impact on Citizen Participation;* our findings indicate that there are around 100,000 community advisory councils now in existence, with perhaps 1,300,000 members across the country. As courts began to legitimatize citizen participation in planning for and carrying out school desegregation, the states began to follow the lead of the federal government in mandating and encouraging various kinds of advisory councils.

There is thus a huge upsurge of federal- and state-mandated activities. That is good in many ways, except the evidence is pretty clear that most of those activities aren't working very well. We can only find a handful of community councils that really represent any genuine effort to share power, to involve community people in a *real* way in making decisions. We can only find a handful of examples that are consistent with the spirit of parity. Not very much seems to be working, and that is why it is particularly exciting and important to know that the Teacher Corps has an opportunity to involve communities differently. If Teacher Corps Community Councils turn out to be like most of the other federal- and state-mandated advisory councils, it is not going to be worth the effort of building such councils. People's expectations for participation will first be raised and then dashed if the Teacher Corps does not take those councils seriously.

Lessons of the Urban-Rural Program

For that reason, I want to talk about the results of the Urban-Rural School Development Program. The Urban-Rural evaluation report, *Involvement: A Study of Shared Governance of Teacher Education,* is now available, and should be required reading for all Teacher Corps staff members. That report deals in a very specific, clear, and definitive way with most of the issues that local staffs will be facing in trying to establish parity in Teacher Corps projects. The Urban-Rural program seemed to work because the school-community council and the parity concept were in fact the core of the program. They were not peripheral or *pro forma,* as they normally are in federal programs requiring citizen participation. The intent of the Urban-Rural program was exactly that of the Teacher Corps: Parity was to be central to the development and planning process, and not just an add-on to that process.

The Urban-Rural evaluation report gives one hope and optimism because it shows that where the parity concept was well-developed, projects were more effective, in general, than those projects where parity was not well developed. The evidence to support that conclusion is spelled out in great detail in the Urban-Rural report.

Believing It Will Work

These positive results did not occur overnight or without struggle. The results were not always even; losses followed gains, and some communities were more successful than others. This model is no panacea for overcoming poverty and the many ills that beset the schools, yet it has demonstrated — and this is crucial — that disenfranchised poor people can be given a larger voice in how their schools are run. And the results can be favorable, not dire, as so many have predicted these many years. That is the crucial part of parity, the belief that, if you give the disenfranchised a chance to have more to say about what goes on in their lives, the results will be good for you and good for them.

Without that normative belief, that value, most efforts toward parity are going to be very mechanical and won't make much difference. A true value commitment to the notion of parity must be implanted in the people who make up the Teacher Corps; that's what it's all about. As a result of successful parity efforts, some of the traditional blocks to effective inservice education were overcome in the Urban-Rural program. New inservice patterns were in-

82 vented; parents, children, and teachers have learned a new appreciation of their unique cultural backgrounds; school staffs have learned new and effective ways of obtaining training from institutions of higher education; schools and communities have learned new ways of obtaining educational services from institutions of higher education; and, presumably, those institutions of higher education have learned new ways to be helpful and responsive to the needs of schools and communities.

Sharing Power

The study also found that the sharing of power by school and college administrators — the sharing of power with less expert people — is not dysfunctional. Specifically, the report says, "Sharing power increased power; the total power for school improvement is enhanced by bringing hitherto disenfranchised people into the process." We should know that is true. People who learn how to share power — a school principal or a school superintendent — don't necessarily lose their shirts; they sometimes develop more political strength and more power through the sharing process.

Teachers' and Parents' Attitudes

Another finding of particular interest to teachers and teachers' organizations relates to the attitudes of parents and other community members toward teachers and inservice training. The evaluation group comparatively studied parents in urban and rural sites with parity and those in communities where the program did not exist. Several important differences emerged. First, at Urban-Rural sites, both teachers and parents were more favorable toward community participation in the governance of inservice education at the local school level. Second, parents at Urban-Rural sites had more positive attitudes toward inservice program needs for teachers; and they were more favorable toward teachers and teachers' organizations. They were more favorable toward teachers and teacher organizations in those places where the community and the parents had a share of the power. They also supported more options for freeing teachers for inservice education, making it part of the teaching job, and providing release time for training. The report also points out the important role of universities in the Urban-Rural program, and that supports the role that they play in the Teacher Corps.

The Importance of Administrator Attitudes

The study also points directly to the importance of the administrator. The college administrator, the superintendent, the principal, and the program administrator are crucial in determining how a project is going to get started and the directions it will take. Administrators have an opportunity to provide either a positive or a negative climate in a project. The climate which they establish is partly a matter of attitude and partly a matter of their behavior; certainly it is more a matter of behavior and attitude than of what administrators say is crucial. Administrators can make a lot of difference. The study also points to the key role of the Urban-Rural team manager, who is comparable to the Project Director in the Teacher Corps. The report very specifically points out that a positive and active role by the team manager helps to produce parity relationships. That suggests a strong, active, and positive role; talking and participating, but not always controlling. That role is crucial for Project Directors to play if parity is to be developed.

Lessons for Community Councils

The Urban-Rural experience also suggests a number of lessons for community councils. First, it takes time — six months to a year or more — to develop diverse input and to resolve status differences among council representatives. Second, broad representation is crucial to community councils. We know that most federal- and state-mandated citizen participation committees do not adequately represent low-income and minority people. Nearly everyone

agrees that getting full representation of diverse groups in a community council is difficult. But the Urban-Rural report makes it very clear that that can be done. It also makes it very clear that it cannot be done by the white middle-class school principal or director, sitting in his office, identifying sub-groups of the community, and deciding how they are to be represented. That administrator often does not know enough about the community to make such judgments. It is clear that it takes outreach, time, energy, staff, and money to make sure that the diversity of a community is represented.

The next Urban-Rural finding related to community councils: Training is needed; people need to learn new things, and they need help. The report points to two kinds of needs: first, the community councils need human relations training, so people can learn to deal with conflicts and differences of race, ethnicity, and class — those differences nearly always neglected in these kinds of efforts. Second, training is needed in group processes; that means learning how to become an effective council, training in political processes, learning how to organize the community, learning how school and college decisions are made, and learning how to influence those decisions.

Other Conditions for Council Success

Other, more general studies, indicate other conditions necessary for council success. Those conditions are very simple and obvious. First, it is important for a group, if it is to be effective, to have staff resources that they themselves control. Councils need to get work done, and volunteer help is not enough. Councils need responsive staffs.

What else do councils need? They need the ability to deal with the grievances and concerns of their constituents, the people they represent. They need to have a constituency, a political power base. They need to be able to relate to community organizations in their own community, and they need to be able to mobilize people when their help is needed. They need clear authority and clear functions to serve. Finally, community councils need access to information and training.

Problems Faced By Councils

There are also some problems which Teacher Corps community councils will face. The first of those is fragmentation and overlapping. There are schools with more than one council, particularly in cities where there are six or seven federal- or state-mandated councils. All those councils are concerned about the same school programs, the same teachers, and the same children. They are all competing for the time and energies of parents and community people. Some solutions have to be found to that problem; otherwise, people will be pitted against one another. A similar problem: Councils tend to operate in a vacuum, isolated from other community organizations; isolated from school officials; isolated from citizen organizations; and often isolated from other groups in the same school. A school may have a Title I group, a Teacher Corps group, a bilingual group, a Follow Through group, a PTA, and a state council. They will all be seeking to reach similarly broad and interesting objectives, but they will be competing, rather than sharing resources and working toward common answers.

Today's Concerns

Where are we now? The sense of urgency that was apparent in 1968 is clearly not with us right now. Teacher Corps projects no longer have that advantage, that motivation, that climate of urgency. Yet, they do have a common body of concerns, issues which are extremely urgent. For example, there is an enormous need to renew the faith of politicians, of the public, and of academics in the public school system. A renewal of faith is especially important for poor and working-class people, who don't have the options of moving to the suburbs or sending their children to expensive private schools.

We need, then, to recreate some sense of urgency about programs like the Teacher Corps. The Teacher Corps is setting out to develop a collaborative process for planning, developing, and implementing ways to improve education for children who are poor, those who have not had a very good education in the American public school system. The Teacher Corps is trying to do that by building a partnership which provides an honest relationship between schools and colleges and communities. The evidence of the past ten years clearly shows that it *can* be done — *if* you want to do it. I envy your opportunity to try, and I wish you every success.

Don Davies is the Director of the Institute for Responsive Education.

Community-Based Education and Community Councils

Conrad Powell and Larry Winecoff

Locally-Defined Community-Based Education

What, exactly, is community-based education? The answer is that it is not well defined — and probably should not be. One of the key elements of community-based education is the fact that it comes from the community. It grows from the community, and each community has to develop its own definition. If we look at community-based education in schools, we might start by considering the boundary between the community and traditional schools. Traditional school people try to keep the school apart from the community; there is the boundary between the community and the school. The traditional school has a specialized staff and basically self-contained classrooms. Fairly strict attention is paid to traditional subject matter, and such schools focus on those between ages five and 18. Education is for young people. Finally, the traditional school building is used on a very limited basis. The most important and expensive investment any community makes is the school building, yet the building sits idle during afternoons, evenings, nights, weekends, and summers.

The Transition from Traditional to Community-Based Schools

The transition from traditional school programs to community-based education programs — which can be quite different — is a slow process. That process cannot be rushed. It requires training; it requires rethinking; and it requires attitudinal change on the part of community members, teachers, administrators, and decision-makers. The first stage in expanding traditional schools into community-based schools is to open the school's door slightly, to use the facility for other purposes when such use does not conflict with the regular school program. Such a school begins to have some limited outreach into its community. Using community resources in the form of volunteer programs is one of the most common types of such limited community outreach.

The Community School

The next transitional step — and many schools in this country today have made this step — is called the community school. The community school has someone who is in charge of coordinating some activities beyond the regular K-12 program. Such a school has a community advisory council of some type. The community school involves other agencies on a fairly large scale — agencies which provide recreation, library, welfare, and social services, as well as other agencies which contribute to the welfare of the community. A community school uses school facilities much more widely than a traditional school.

The Community Development Center

In the final transitional stage, the school begins to change its thinking as to how best to serve the community. A community school is still doing things *for* the community, but schools can go beyond that to make the facility a human resource center, or a community development center. By whatever name, that place no longer focuses on the school program for young people or adults. It begins to change its focus. It features a real partnership with the community. It is not doing things *to* the community or *for* the community, but *with* the community. Together, the school and community are creating a program, a set of activities, a set of experiences, geared to community needs and interests. Such a place is used year-round; it also features comprehensive human services, not limited services — it is a full-service delivery system. The school is the only institution in most communities which has that capability. Finally, that place serves as a clearinghouse for the community; it may not offer all services itself, but it can refer people to other agencies, and it can bring other agencies in as they are needed. That place is a "brokerage", rather than just a school. Those phases, then, describe the transition from a traditional school to a place that is

no longer just a school, but a center which focuses on and is a true part of the community.

Key Ingredients

With that concept as background, we should point out the nine key ingredients of community-based education. First, community-based education is process-oriented. The people *make* the process, and that is a key ingredient. Community-based education is not programmed; it is not activities; it is not things going on; it is the *process* of involvement. Second, community-based education operates on a collaborative decision-making basis in which all partners have parity. The community is a partner. The traditional school people are partners. The university is a partner. And other agencies and institutions in the community are partners. Third, community-based education features continuous assessment of needs, interests, *and* concerns. Fourth, programming is *in* and *for* the community; it *is* the community. Fifth, the community is involved in the total school program — including the K-12 program. The separation between regular and other programs disappears. Sixth, there is a focus in community-based education on both individual and community needs and interests. Seventh, education or development of the individual and community is seen as a lifelong and recurring process in community-based education.

Eighth, community-based education must feature flexibility and speed in responding to community needs and interests. That is difficult for our educational institutions, but delay will cause programs to miss the critical moment — and responding at the critical moment is one of the key elements of a successful community-based education program. Those programs must capitalize on immediate interests, motivations, and needs. Finally, community-based education is a system of coordinated human services which integrates all agencies and organizations within the community to respond to community needs, interests, and concerns.

Programs Versus Process

Given those ingredients, the question then becomes how to make the kind of intervention that we have been suggesting, how to develop the sort of collaborative model that will in fact make a difference in the lives of a community. First, in order to do that, we must face the fact that the Teacher Corps has made a mistake. That mistake has been the Teacher Corps practice over the last few years of working on community-based education by putting more emphasis on programs than on process. There has been more emphasis on what we can offer *to* people in the community. That's programming. And that is not the way to go about real community-based education. We need to evolve a process which allows a community to develop its own leadership, so that a real difference will have been made in that community after the federal funds are gone. Only self-sufficiency can sustain the kinds of activities and interventions that are at the heart of community-based education.

The Promise of Five-Year Funding

Five-year Teacher Corps projects can help to facilitate the transition from programming to developing a process for building local leadership. More than ever before, there is now a three-way Teacher Corps partnership among the community, the institution of higher education, and the school district. For the first time, the dean, the superintendent, and the community council chairperson are all required members of the project policy board. That is an important concept. The five-year funding itself can also help to facilitate the development of leadership. Five years allows the time necessary for planning, implementation, evaluation, revision, and further development of community-based processes.

Another advantage of the new Teacher Corps design is the fact that all Teacher Corps roles are now in one way or another responsible for the

community-based education component. The Teacher Corps has always had a commitment to that type of community-based education; the difference is that now the program has the potential to create the structures to go with that commitment. The challenge, then, is to get full participation of all project staff members, of all agencies, and of all people in the community. That means sharing control, control of what goes on in a Teacher Corps project, in a school, in a community, in a teacher training program.

Full Partnership

The challenge is to get full participation and to avoid the temptation to delegate decision-making to the extent that we say, "That's really the university's domain; we'll let them make that decision." Rather, we need to insist on total-group responsibility for decisions. We need to insist on collaborative decision-making models that require agreement — compromise, if necessary — but agreement from all three parties. We need a better sense of partnership with the community. We need a system which responds to community needs, that really does collaborate in meeting community needs, rather than a system which imposes its own remedies on a community. That requires developing a true sense of community. That means that the major outcome for community-based education is the institutionalization of a process that will allow a community to be self-sufficient, that will maintain a collaborative decision-making mode after Teacher Corps funding ends.

The Election of Community Councils

If all this is going to happen, some of us will probably need to make attitudinal changes. We must be willing to give a little, to truly believe in the collaborative model. Second, we will need to develop some common-sense planning skills. Those planning skills are most immediately needed for the development of local elected community councils. The election process will require that local projects address three major issues. The first major issue is information, which is critical to any council election. It is easy to communicate information about the Teacher Corps, a community council, and the election process to a small percentage of the people who are probably already aware. It is very difficult to get good information to the people who are most in need, but who are least informed. It is a real problem to develop strategies to get information to every person or representative group within a community. It is also no simple matter to learn how those people are responding to the community council election process.

The second key problem with the election of the community council is the attitude and level of commitment of both the power structure and the community. There is a real need to develop an attitude of commitment and a sense of ownership.

Third, we must address the need to really get representation of segments of the community, representation by people who are going to do a great deal of work. Those are three of the key problems that have been identified by many projects and community groups as they elect community councils. Those problems need close attention. In preparing for those elections, we must consider the primary roles and responsibilities of community councils. Traditionally, such councils have involved themselves with things like approving and supporting programs, presenting ideas, and being involved as a communication link between communities and projects. That really does not totally involve the council in making a great number of important decisions. The ideal community council role has some other characteristics. A truly community-based council, first, will initiate and generate programs; it will start to provide leadership. It will develop specific plans; it will develop planning skills; and it will know how to design plans for getting things changed in response to needs. It will know how to design and conduct a needs assess-

State Education Agencies have provided Teacher Corps projects with an extremely valuable resource. That is not a political resource, but a programmatic resource. The sharing relationship has become genuine. It is helping our projects in a number of ways. For example, some SEA liaisons have gathered together Teacher Corps and non-Teacher Corps institutions of higher education and facilitated the process through which those institutions can share their knowledge and experience. That is extremely helpful to our attempts to disseminate and demonstrate our successful processes, practices, and products within a given state.

William L. Smith
Teacher Corps—Washington

ment, so that programming, when it does occur, can be truly focused on needs within a community.

The ideal council will know the importance of recruiting and managing community resources from all agencies, and it will be able to use those resources to help solve local problems. That ideal council will assist in the implementation of programs; it will not just talk about needs and expect someone else to address needs programatically. It will assist in the evaluation of programs and processes, it will make revisions as necessary, and it will coordinate and collaborate with schools, universities, agencies, and persons within a community. That council will also truly be a focal point for community activity. It will be involved in various kinds of training: Its own training, training for leadership within the community, training of volunteers, and any other needed training. Finally, the ideal council will serve as a liaison between the university, the community, and the school.

We should point out that there are many other areas of concern related to the expanded focus on community within the Teacher Corps. For example, how does the Teacher Corps staff relate to the ideal community council and the community-based education effort we have described? What is the relationship between the community council and other boards and councils in the local area? These and other issues will confront Teacher Corps projects as they attempt to develop true community-based education processes in partnership with their community councils. These issues and others which have been discussed here hold the promise of both frustration and success. Local efforts — efforts which truly involve communities — will determine the degree of success which projects will achieve. It will not be easy, but the promise — the potential for success — is evident.

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The Developmental Year and the Community Component

Michael P. Grady

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Getting Started

The first year of Program 78 Teacher Corps projects is a developmental or planning year. I was the director of a pilot project which worked through that first year during the past 12 months. I would like to share our experiences and the lessons of that pilot project as they relate to the community aspects of a Teacher Corps project. One of the things we considered is the question of what projects need to do during a planning year in relation to their community components; we developed four objectives specifically related to the community. Our first was to become better acquainted with the school staff—including administrators, office personnel, faculty members, and support staff. Through these contacts, it was possible to determine certain lines of communication in the school and community, as well as the limits within which our consultant could work.

Community Composition

Second, we wanted to become better acquainted with the composition of the community. That composition included such elements as the various kinds of housing, commercial and industrial businesses, churches, and public and private agencies. This eventually led to a community survey and the compilation of several mailing lists which included business people, members of the clergy, and residents who gave permission to have their names placed on the mailing list. The third objective was to secure the names of residents who might wish to serve as members of the community council. Since the council was formed during the first months of the project, it was important that people be recruited immediately. (We were operating under Cycle XII Teacher Corps regulations, and were able to combine elected and selected people on our council.)

The fourth objective was to make contact with public and private agencies working in the com-

munity. A representative of each agency was asked to explain the agency's work, and we described the Teacher Corps program to them. We emphasized the fact that Teacher Corps staff members strive to work cooperatively with various agencies, and do not attempt to compete with or duplicate existing efforts.

The LCCC Function

Those were the four objectives that our community consultant intended to address. What were some of the things that our consultant did? We put a lot of emphasis on teacher aides and neighborhood aides, and the consultant recruited people to work as neighborhood teacher aides. The neighborhood aides conducted the community survey and also worked in the classrooms. Our consultant also worked with the community council. Once the community council was organized, members were kept informed of the progress of the Teacher Corps project so that their involvement and interest would be kept at full force. We found it crucial to keep those people informed, and to keep them stimulated about the Teacher Corps.

Proposals for project activities were submitted to the council, and members voted on activities before they were undertaken. During the first nine months, the council supported a community survey and began making plans to extend the council's activities during the second year of the project. That, in capsule form, describes our community activities during the developmental year pilot project at St. Louis University.

Lessons of the Pilot Developmental Year

One lesson we learned is that working in the community is a very delicate part of a Teacher Corps project, since the success of community efforts depends to a large extent on the good will of school parents and neighborhood leaders, the cooperation of school administrators, and the support of the Project Director. Second, we learned that the community component needs to show progress; yet there must be time for people to hear and evaluate new ideas. School administrators must be kept informed and involved. Other members of the Teacher Corps team should be kept informed, and their support should be solicited. Teachers at the site school need to feel that projects involving the community are meant to support their work in the classroom, and in no way pose a threat to their positions. Community residents, too, need to feel ownership in community efforts. We also learned that, while the LCCC role is ambiguous, LCCCs need to be aggressive in their role. Ambiguity should not interfere with the assertiveness of the LCCC in the project.

The developmental year represents a great opportunity to develop community relationships and activities. We emphasized the community during that first year, and that is one of the best things we did; Program 78 projects can enjoy similar success by developing a strong LCCC role.

Michael P. Grady is the Director of the Teacher Corps Project at St. Louis University.

Community-Based Education: Toward A New Mission

William L. Smith

The Political Process

If we are to deal effectively with community-based education, we must first recognize the fact that the concept is still largely undefined. We have not yet been able to decide whether community-based education is a political process, a sociological process, or a human-service delivery process. In fact, community-based education should draw on several fields.

As we develop elected Teacher Corps community councils and learn to work with them, it will be important for local project personnel to understand that community involvement is both a political process and an educational process. The recent Rand study, Change Agent One, points out that we in education try to solve political problems with educational solutions; we educators are reluctant to involve ourselves in political processes. We don't want to be known as politicians. We don't want to play politics. But we are finally learning that a political problem must be dealt with in political terms, with political solutions. Only after that approach has unfolded can political problems be translated into educational problems to be addressed by educational solutions. Thus, our hope for the community-based education component is that it will help us to get past the political processes. Once we have gotten beyond the politics, we can begin to truly involve community members in dealing with educational problems.

As we deal with such problems, it will be important to find ways through which to meet community needs. Thus, the first step in implementing community-based education is to identify needs—and we should remember that community needs are the needs perceived and expressed by the community, not those articulated by a school district, a university, or a Teacher Corps project. Second, community-based efforts must learn to respect communities' own desires. Third, such efforts must learn how to gain the support of the community. Fourth, community-based education must find ways to involve the community in improving the climate of learning and interaction in the schools and the community. Finally, those who practice community-based education must learn to see the community as an educational resource.

It is especially important in using resources that Teacher Corps projects work hard to develop the attitudes and climate which make it possible for school people to recognize that it is indeed fortunate that the schools belong to their communities. It is important that we not forget for one moment that the community pays the taxes to support our schools. The community sends its most precious asset—children—to our schools. The community mandates education. As we work in community-based education, therefore, we must learn that we should indeed be accountable to the community.

"We Are Wasting Our Time If . . ."

I am convinced that it is only people who can make community-based education work. We are wasting our time if we cannot get our school and university faculties involved in confidently dealing with parents and other community members—and doing so in ways that maintain the dignity of those from the community. We are wasting our time if we cannot help administrators to say, quite candidly, to parents, "We have problems. We would like your help." All of our talk will finally prove to be meaningless if we cannot seriously address community-based problems in the individual school and its community. Finally, I would like to point out that community-based education is extremely important to the Teacher Corps as a national program and to local projects. But the picture of teachers, parents, and other community members working together to help kids improve is paramount in my mind as I think of community-based education.

William L. Smith is the Director of Teacher Corps.

The Human Service Perspective on Community-Based Education

Frank Riessman

Coordination of Services

The Teacher Corps can play a central role in coordinating human service delivery efforts in the project community. For example, the community council could stimulate the local health agency to provide vision and auditory screening for all the children in the schools. That obviously addresses a common concern of the community and of education. It also ties the human service health agency more closely to the school system. There are countless other forms of integration of the human services which could be developed in this manner.

The community council can highlight these needs and attempt to build a human service network which increases the articulation among the relevant agencies to ensure that these needs are met in an integrated fashion. This integration should lead to a great resource expansion in the community and a reduction of the distance between the community and human service agencies.

Community Support Systems

Another very important community council role rooted in the human service perspective is the encouragement of community support systems. Social support has been defined as information that tells a person he or she is valued and is part of a functioning social network based on a commitment of reciprocity and exchange. These social networks are a key resource in daily coping for the average person.

Throughout America, as in any society, there are personal and social networks of families, neighbors, and community organizations to which people naturally turn as they attempt to cope with their problems. Such assistance can help an individual through an emotional crisis, possibly preventing more serious disability. These supports are important adjuncts to the more formal human service system. As we seek ways to improve human services, it is important to recognize the strengths and potential that various support networks bring to different communities and neighborhoods—and to recognize the need to develop linkages between these systems and the formal care-giving systems.

Conclusion

A community-based human service program could be instrumental in helping various agencies relate to these natural networks and to community-based support systems. They represent an enormous untapped human service resource, and the community council could play a major role in finding these groups and helping the human service network to provide appropriate responses to their needs.

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The Community Council and Its Consultant

Pete Mesa

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Councils Will Survive

I would like to make general observations about the need for and the impact of the Local Community Council Consultant (LCCC) role in relation to the Teacher Corps community council. One thing which is especially important to remember when considering such councils is this fact: Once it is established—whether it is democratic or authoritarian, effective or ineffective—once the council starts, it will survive. In the Urban-Rural Development Program, community councils outlasted school superintendents, principals, school board members, team managers—everyone else who was around when the council was established. That is not to say that all the councils were democratic, effective, or good—but they *did* survive. Another fact to keep in mind is this: Once the community council begins to perceive its needs, once it begins to get a sense of where it wants to go, that council becomes very critical and very demanding of any person who is central to its function. The Project Director will face a great deal of pressure to perform in ways which are responsive to the council.

Councils' Need for An Advocate

The role of the Teacher Corps LCCC will probably follow the course of the comparable role in the Urban-Rural Program. That role would begin as a consulting role; initially, a council needs advice, assistance, and information. But as a council matures, it then needs an arm, an executive officer, to represent its decisions, policies, and programs. I am not sure that the Teacher Corps community councils will necessarily see the Project Director as that arm, and I suspect they will look more to an independent person, such as the LCCC. If that occurs, projects might anticipate potential conflict between the LCCC and the director or other administrators in the project.

Teacher Corps project personnel should also

remember that, however committed community members are, they nevertheless remain primarily interested in their jobs, careers, their families, and other interests outside the school. They are not paid, and volunteer time in many communities is hard to come by. That fact points again to the need for an executive officer, an arm for the community council. That is especially true in poor communities, where fewer community persons have time to devote to volunteer work. I cannot overstress the importance of developing a strong LCCC function to work with the community council. As a council evolves, it will need an LCCC who is available and accountable to the council. The council will find it difficult to assign accountability to other, more ambiguous functions, such as the Project Director.

Chairpersons' Need for Assistance

Another factor which will impact on the LCCC role is the council Chairperson's need for a person who can collect information, write position papers, analyze problems, and generally serve as an independent source of information. That is especially important because the Chairperson serves on the project Policy Board with high-level university and school district personnel, and will not want to depend upon the information generated by the institution of higher education or the local education agency. The Chairperson will want to develop his or her own sources of information and policy positions, and will likely depend upon the LCCC for help in that process.

Desirable Characteristics of LCCCs

Councils will need LCCCs who are credible both in the community and with the staff, who can work in and with the system, and who are committed to program goals. LCCCs should have the integrity to maintain program goals over and above everything else.

A consultant is someone who can provide projects with something they don't have. One who continues to be a consultant is one who can continue to do that over a long period of time. By the same token, the LCCC will evolve into someone who can provide skills to a council—either by having the time to use those skills, or by possessing those skills to a higher degree than council members.

A Precarious Position

In a similar vein, the LCCC is in a extremely precarious role. The LCCC is caught between the principal, the superintendent, the Project Director, and the council Chairperson, and must try to mediate between and interface with all of these groups. A part-time LCCC or one who has only sporadic interaction with the council will not be able to provide the council with appropriate services. Such an LCCC would not be able to develop the long-term relationships that the role requires.

The LCCC role is also precarious because the community is a relative newcomer to the Teacher Corps enterprise. School administrators and teachers and university staff members have accommodated each other for a long time. The LCCC is essentially the representative of an intruder. It will require a great deal of skill, experience, and strength to survive the process of integrating community interests with those of schools and universities.

I have not described an easy job. I have, however, described a job which can be done. It has been done before, most notably in the Urban-Rural Development Program. LCCCs and the councils for whom they work can serve their communities, and they can make their communities the better for their services.

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The Exceptional Child Component and The New Teacher Corps Legislation

Marie Barry

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The Anticipation of P.L. 94-142

Some six years ago, William L. Smith, Director of the Teacher Corps, expressed his conviction that regular teachers should be trained to recognize and meet the special needs of children with learning and behavioral problems in the regular classroom. He was, in effect, anticipating Public Law 94-142. As a result, the Teacher Corps teaching-learning activities that have developed under the rubric of the Exceptional Child Component have direct relevance, not only to the mandates of this law, but also to the classroom practices that will best provide improved educational opportunities for every child. These practices may also serve as demonstrations for what regular educators can do to supplement the efforts of special educators as handicapped children move into regular classrooms to enjoy the least restrictive environment.

New Teacher Corps Dimensions

Meanwhile, the Teacher Corps program has taken on new dimensions under its new legislation and rules and regulations. It seems appropriate to comment on these developments in relation to current and future Exceptional Child Component activities in the Teacher Corps. The new Teacher Corps regulations provide for the improvement of educator competencies, first, to assure multicultural education and knowledgeability of the needs and contributions of diverse cultures; second, to deal with the wide range of variability in children; and third, to identify children with learning and behavioral problems, to diagnose their special needs, and to prescribe the bodies of information and learning activities that will eliminate these needs and enhance the contributions to the education of such children.

One of the long-accepted tests of the worth of educational practices has been their ability to stand the test of time. That is, effective educational practices continue to be relevant from year-to-year. Although the activities of the Teacher Corps Exceptional Child Component can hardly be equated with the eternal verities, it is gratifying to know that they are still pertinent to the new and challenging legislation of the Ninety-Fourth Congress. Anyone who has followed the progress of Public Law 94-142 from the days of Congressional hearings to the ultimate regulations for implementation is aware of the questions surrounding the definitions of categories such as handicapped, learning disabled, gifted, and so forth. This psychological and semantic dilemma continues, leading to the concomitant concern of the Teacher Corps and others for the quality of the instruments by which children are diagnosed. While there is significant research to suggest that many psychometric instruments are irrelevant to the testing of children who do not speak standard American English, the constructs of sociolinguists and anthropologists have not been adequately adapted for student assessment. This means that every Teacher Corps project, in its preservice and inservice training, should closely scrutinize the quality of the diagnostic techniques and instruments which it employs.

Parental Involvement

The second perennial concern of the Teacher Corps has been sustained parental involvement with the school program. This can only be accomplished by structuring school and classroom relationships so that all individuals have the opportunity to satisfy their intellectual curiosity and, at the same time, to enjoy the educational support necessary to supplement their basic motivations. Out of these premises have developed the patterns of individualized instruction, flexible student grouping, and team teaching that characterize many Teacher Corps projects—educational patterns that are advantageous to all children as they progress toward increased ability to learn.

It is extremely important for the community council to recognize the nature (as well as the limits) of its power. The power of the community council resides in its ability to convene meetings, to call various human service agencies together, to provide publicity regarding what they are or are not doing, and to furnish consultation and technical assistance to a community-based education program.

Frank Riessman
City University of New York

Staff Development

The new Teacher Corps legislation recognizes a truism that the teacher alone cannot improve the school learning climate or the techniques by which he or she imparts information, unless there is philosophical consistency throughout the local education establishment. To that end, the "training" (for lack of a better word) of principals and other administrators assumes a new and crucial dimension which the Teacher Corps will now address. A corollary to that truism is a rising interest, especially among deans of education, in staff development at the institution of higher education. Such staff development will assure successful performance in field-based preservice and inservice education.

Marie Barry is a Program Specialist in the Teacher Corps — Washington office and Coordinator of the Exceptional Child Component.

Issues for Educators

Asa Hilliard

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Working Backwards

I would like to raise several educational issues. These issues are so serious, and have been so poorly addressed (if at all), that I sometimes wonder whether we mean business when we talk about teaching teachers—I wonder whether we mean business when we talk about educating kids. First, I would assert that we in American education work backwards. For example, we generally name something before we observe it. Piaget, on the other hand, observed for a long time, spotted patterns of behavior in children, and then named the pattern. Cultural anthropologists use a similar methodology. But we name the pattern and then go looking for it. We come at education backwards. I think that is evident in some of our work in special education, but is even more evident in much of the pedagogy that we practice.

The second issue grows from the first. Because we work backwards in special education, we frequently identify children as handicapped who do not have real handicaps. In other words, we call people sick who are not sick. I am not referring to children who do have problems and who do need our help. I am referring to that vast group of people who are misassessed. We identify problems which are not really problems. For example, in *The Myth of the Hyperactive Child,* Peter Schrag and Diane Divoky discuss how we label millions of children hyperactive when there isn't even such a disease.

Valid Assessment

Valid assessment of exceptional children is a third issue I would like to raise. If some of the handicaps that we have identified aren't even handicaps, then the assessment procedures used to discover those so-called handicaps are certainly questionable. Even when considering genuine handicaps, we continue to have misassessment because our assessors are incompetent, in many cases, to diagnose some of the populations that they work with. For example, vast numbers of children in the Los Angeles schools have been identified as having speech problems, when they merely have different phonological patterns owing to their own cultural and linguistic tradition. Their phonological patterns are used to diagnose speech difficulty, and they are consequently referred to speech therapy. That clearly represents incompetent and irresponsible assessment. Valid assessment is clearly an issue in education in general and in special education in particular.

Valid Pedagogy

The fourth problem I would like to raise is even more serious than the third. That is the issue of valid pedagogy. Even when we can accurately identify conditions that require special attention, in many cases we do not have a pedagogy to fit what we find. Yet we act as if we do have such means because we label first and search later, rather than the reverse. If we did have a valid pedagogy, we would first find out what works and then mandate that such means be used. We do the opposite. We mandate, or legislate, first, and then validate. For example, P.L. 94-142, although well intentioned, mandates individual learning plans, but such plans have not been validated. We don't even know if they work! We did not validate that as a way of teaching first, and then mandate it. We did it backwards. That, by the way, is not said to discount the importance of P.L. 94-142—it is merely said to make the point that procedures should be validated before they are mandated.

Valid pedagogy, the substance and skills that we teach teachers, is an issue. Lawrence Cremin recently surveyed the doctorate in teacher education, and discovered that that degree is distinguished by the *absence* of any common content across institutions. That is to say, we cannot be sure of what a person has done or learned to earn a doctorate in teacher education. That doesn't mean that doctors of education are unintelligent. It doesn't mean that they are not educated. It does, however, raise

questions about just what teacher education *is*. None of that means that we should close our schools of education. It does mean that we ought to improve whatever practices we use in the education of teachers. That is an issue.

"Handicapism"

The fifth issue deals directly with mainstreaming. My position is that the target of mainstreaming is the wrong target. We have chosen the wrong target because we have assumed that the major problems in organizing for instruction stem from the nature of a particular handicap. But those who are handicapped are frequently the most minute part of the problem in the classroom. The greatest part of the problem is the attitude of those who work with handicapped people. Teachers are afraid of handicapped people. Kids who do not have handicaps are afraid of handicapped people. Parents are afraid of handicapped people.

Because of those attitudes, we create an environment that is hostile to handicapped people. That is part of the reason that we want the handicapped out-of-sight—so that they will also be out-of-mind. That is not to say that a so-called mainstream environment is absolutely appropriate for every instance of every handicap. I *am* saying that we play games with ourselves if we don't recognize the fact that some people are simply uncomfortable with anyone who is different. That attitude has been referred to by Bob Bogdan as "handicapism." If we were really focusing our attention on changing and improving the educational environment, we would be looking at how to change attitudes, rather than developing specific pedagogy for handicaps.

Educational Ethics

Finally, because of the issues I have raised previously, we face the issue of how to deal with ethics in the profession. (It is very hard to get people to deal with ethical questions, since those questions are frequently linked to economic conditions—mainly our own.) Ivan Illich recently wrote a book called *Medical Nemesis,* in which he suggests that the medical profession may be dangerous to our health. In some degree, we can say something similar about the education profession: It may be dangerous to our education. Some of our educational structures actually create either miseducation or maleducation.

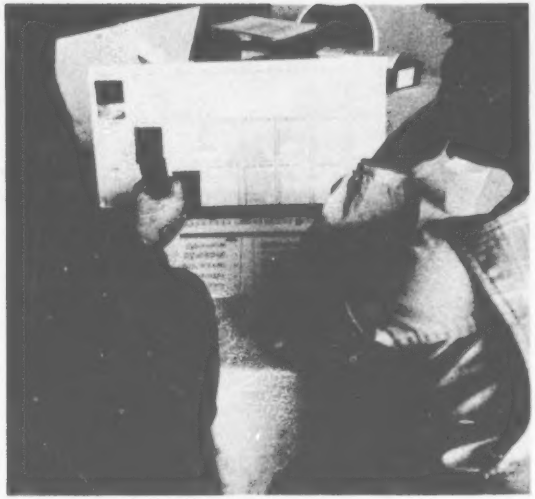
We actually contaminate the educational environment with some of our structures. For example, early childhood education efforts promote the equivalent of an individual education plan; the teacher decides on Monday what is going to happen with each individual child all week long. The teacher then writes goals and such. The impact of that decision is that the people who should be spending time with activities that really make a difference in the classroom are spending all their time writing. The people who should be helping the teachers to use their time properly are busy monitoring to see if individual plans are actually being carried out. They are not monitoring to see whether instruction is more effective than it would have been otherwise. That is an ethical problem. It is unethical to impose upon an educational situation activities and structures which do not necessarily work and which frequently are harmful. When such activities and structures benefit us (in the form of release from the classroom, for example) we have an ethical problem.

The issues that I have raised lie at the heart of many of our current problems in education, and must be recognized and addressed if we are to do better—as we must. We must stop working backwards. We must develop and apply valid assessment and pedagogical processes. We must deal with the attitudes associated with "handicapism". We must reassess our educational ethics. Until we face those issues, we will continue to do less well than we might. Teachers and our children deserve better.

Asa Hilliard is Dean of the School of Education at San Francisco State University.

Current Issues in the Education of Exceptional Children

Virginia Trumbull



Accountability

There are many problems inherent in effectively programming education for children with learning and behavioral problems; there are also problems associated with providing inservice education for teachers of such children, and with effectively integrating special education with regular education. One of the first such problems is accountability. Special education is being asked to justify itself, perhaps more than any other educational area. Many people are asking questions such as, Are programs cost-effective? Are children getting adequate educational programs? Who is going to be held accountable for the achievement of children who are now being placed in the regular classroom?

That last question is especially knotty. I have worked with teachers who are very frightened that they may be held accountable for the achievement of exceptional children. I have heard some teachers suggest that they hope to protect themselves by writing individual education plans whose goals are so easily achieved that there is no possibility that children will not reach those goals. Obviously that is not the way that the Education for All Handicapped Children Act was meant to work. We must find a way of helping people change that attitude. That is clearly an attitudinal problem, as well as a feeling among teachers that they lack the skills required to help educate children. Accountability, then, is a major issue.

Funding is another problem. Public Law 92-142 and similar state legislation mandate a great deal of effort for the exceptional child within the school. However, there is not much federal or state money behind the laws. There is not a lot of money, and yet we must carry out the mandates of that legislation, which will be very expensive. We may well ask, How is that going to be done? Is it practical? Where is the money going to come from? I'm not sure that anyone has answered those questions very well at this point.

The Least Restrictive Environment

Another current issue in this area is the least restrictive environment. What *is* the least restrictive environment? Does it exist when a handicapped child in the regular classroom is not acting out, and is very slowly learning? Is that the least restrictive environment? Or do we achieve the least restrictive environment by giving the child one-to-one help so that child can progress even more? The latter approach is obviously going to cost more than the former. How do we come to grips with that problem?

Diagnosis

The use of diagnostic instruments is another problem in exceptional child education. What instruments should we use—and how should we use them? One of the mandates of the Teacher Corps is to determine how to effectively diagnose children, not just by using specialists, but also by helping regular teachers to understand informal diagnostic procedures. We are also confronted by the problems associated with diagnosing children both from the majority population and from the minority population. Diagnosis is an immediate problem.

Class Size

Class size is another problem. Regular classroom teachers usually work with 20 to 30 students. They will often say, "If I only had 20 children instead of 30, I could do much better." Special educators who have eight children in a resource room may say, "If I only had four, I could do much better." That, of course, causes some problems.

That leads to another issue: The increasing focus on special education almost makes it seem that the other part of the educational spectrum—the largest part, regular education—is being ignored. Some people view the situation this way. That, of course, does not promote particularly useful attitudes and relationships among and between regular and special educators. Somehow, we have to help peo-

ple see education as education, whether we are working with exceptional children or others. They are all children.

Preservice and Inservice Training

Preservice and inservice training also present problems in special education. What kind of criteria should a principal consider when hiring new staff members? Should new special education teachers be qualified to work with regular classroom teachers? Most people would say yes—and yet most of our institutions of higher education are now training their special education students to work in separate classrooms. We in higher education must change that. We are not keeping up with the times if we don't.

Finally, we must deal with the problem of the relationships between regular and special education in the school. The Teacher Corps project I have seen represents probably the best relationships between regular and special education professionals. They are really trying to work together. But problems will remain in many schools until we can come to grips with that issue and perhaps formulate models for the better integration of services.

These problems are certainly not the only ones which we face in the education of exceptional children. They are, however, of paramount importance, and must be addressed if the education of all children is to improve. We must answer the questions of accountability; of funding; of the least restrictive environment; of diagnosis; of class size; of appropriate training; and of the relationships between regular and special education. Without seeking answers to those questions, we will not solve our problems nor engage in an appropriate dialogue. This essential process will surely point us in the right direction.

Virginia Trumbull is Assistant Professor of Special Education, Keene State College, New Hampshire.

What *Is* the Least Restrictive Environment?

Kathy Morsink

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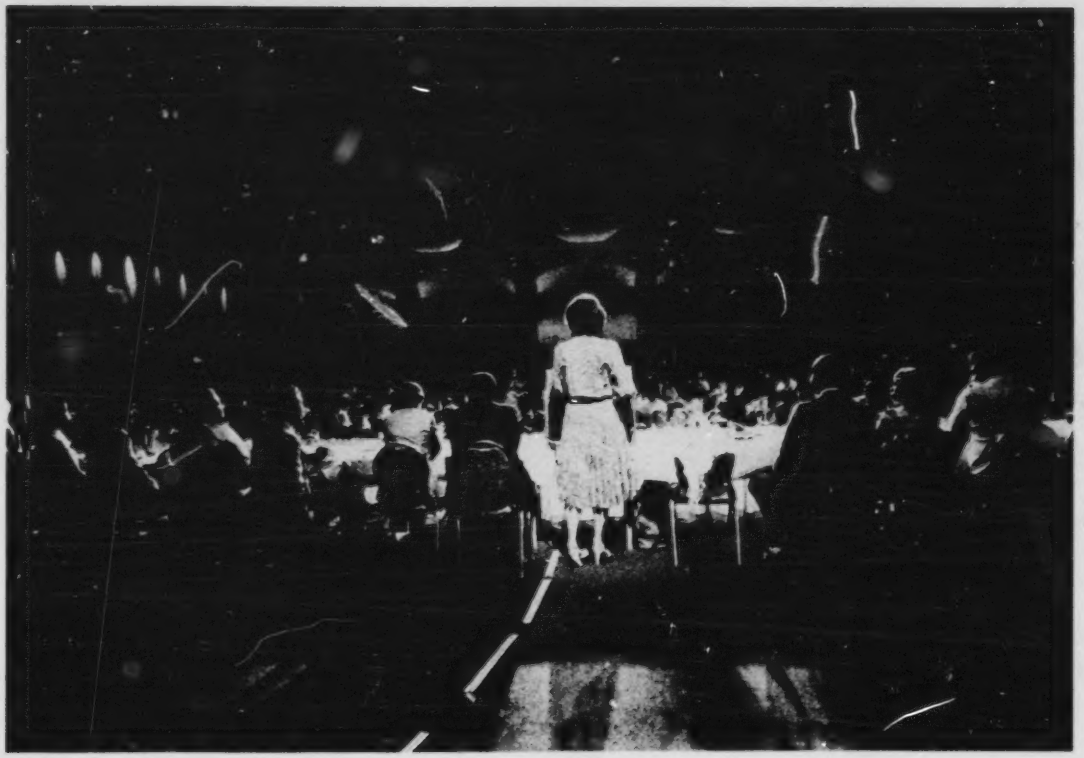


Others have indicated that one of the major problems associated with the Education for All Handicapped Children Act is the belief that handicapped children in regular classrooms will somehow foul up "our beautifully organized classrooms". The problem of defining the least restrictive environment is causing confusion. There are two possible ways of looking at the least restrictive environment, and how we proceed to develop that environment will be determined by our definition.

One approach is to suggest that the least restrictive environment is the "normal" environment in which we all must survive—the environment for which we should prepare all of our children. That is least restrictive in the sense that it is the most nearly "normal". If we bring handicapped children into such an environment, they will obviously be handicapped in that milieu, and modifications will be in order. The main question related to that posture is whether or not such an environment is really "least restrictive"—not only to the handicapped child, but to all individuals. Is this so-called normal, average, regular classroom (and world) the way we really want our environment to be? Is this our goal—or is it simply the existing set of norms?

The other approach to building the least restrictive environment is to suggest that the milieu is actually the educational or life setting in which the child can most easily reach his or her potential. That, to my mind, is the more desirable approach, but it is so far from what presently exists that it will be difficult to implement. It is, however, highly appropriate, since P.L. 94-142 gives us the mandate to try to determine what it is that we should help exceptional children to learn or do. If we are to reach that point, we must first determine what the child in our society really needs in order to survive—not only to survive, but to contribute, to enhance, to enrich our life settings. That is our first task if we are to build the least restrictive environment.

Kathy Morsink is Director of the Special Education Program at the University of Kentucky, Lexington.

The Exceptional Child Component Demonstration Project

Phillip Mann

Purpose of the Project

In June, 1978, the Teacher Corps awarded a contract to the University of Miami. That contract is for the Exceptional Child Component Demonstration Project, which will seek to build models of Exceptional Child Components based on the experience of continuing Cycle XII projects. Those models will be applied in new Program 78 projects. As a result of the project, we now have a unique opportunity to examine Teacher Corps projects' organizational patterns and to apply those patterns to the instruction and delivery of services, not just to handicapped children, but to all children. I have a strong feeling that the interactions between the "regular" educators and "special" educators cannot help but benefit all children—and that potential is certainly the keystone of the project I will describe. The project grows from the need to document project activities, to extrapolate the most important practices from Twelfth Cycle projects, and to make those practices known not only to Program 78 projects, but also to the general population.

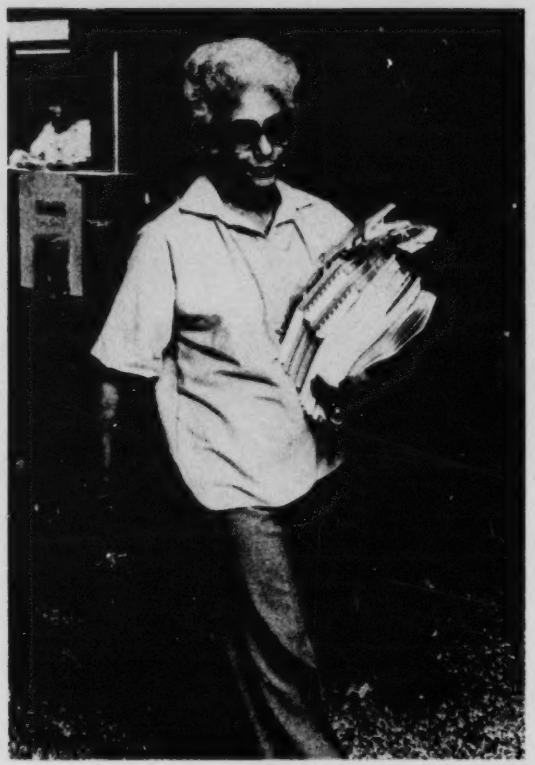
The Project Design

The Exceptional Child Component Demonstration Project is, first, a *demonstration* project. We will identify a sample of existing Twelfth Cycle projects—one from each of the 12 Regional Networks—which developed exemplary practices in one or more areas of concern for the education of children with learning or behavioral problems in the regular classroom. This geographically diverse sample was recommended by the Program Specialists in the Teacher Corps—Washington office, who will play an important linking role in the project. The next step in the study will be to identify a cadre of consultants who will represent Program 78 projects. This will serve two purposes; first, those special educator consultants will be involved in efforts to extrapolate programmatic information from the sample projects. Second, this group will provide an opportunity for a group of special educators from Program 78 projects to gain knowledge and information, and to share experiences which will enable them to be more effective in their projects. The latter purpose is one of the primary outcomes of the demonstration project.

The foundation of the project is a series of visits to selected Cycle XII sites and the extrapolation of existing practices which may be used in new Teacher Corps projects. The project will identify certain critical practices and synthesize those practices in a document that can serve as a manual for inservice and preservice education, as well as a Teacher Corps guide for Exceptional Child Components. There is certainly a need for such a document, a document which will be helpful to future Teacher Corps endeavors as projects develop and install their Exceptional Child Components.

The Involvement of Project Personnel

The process of extrapolating successful practices in the Exceptional Child Component will involve a wide variety of project personnel at the sites selected for study. Such personnel will include the Community Coordinator and the Special Education Coordinator. The latter will be responsible for working with the special and regular educators at the institution of higher education and at the local education agency, with a particular orientation toward the school and classroom levels. Other personnel at local sites who will be involved include Team Leaders and those who represent the policy boards, the elected community council, and others. Such groups will be included as a part of the extrapolation process because one of the potential contributions of this study is a determination of the relationship between the community and the activities of the Exceptional Child Component. The current demand for involvement of parents in due process procedures and the identification of children who are "handicapped" will mean that children who are identified will not necessarily be



served by special educators. Thus, there is a need to involve a broad range of project personnel in the Exceptional Child Component.

Areas of Concern for the Project

The Exceptional Child Component Demonstration Project will be concentrating on several areas of concern. The first of those areas is the concept of collaboration between special educators and regular educators or support services within the project. That collaboration involves relationships between institutions of higher education, local education agencies, and state education agencies. Collaborative efforts involve a great deal more than the information-sharing we have concentrated on in the past.

Instead of truly collaborating, we sometimes place ourselves in adversary positions. That is one reason why community involvement is so important; the community may be the glue that holds the Exceptional Child Component together. Parents may say, "You two had better get together on what you're going to be providing for my child. If you can't agree on placement, programming, and the delivery of services, I am going to take my questions to a higher authority." Thus, collaboration must be more than just information-sharing; we must get to the level of involvement, interaction, and institutional change. That is a much higher level of collaboration.

Specific Areas of Collaboration

I am referring to some very specific kinds of collaboration. One such area is the collaborative effort in inservice and preservice training. What, for example, are teachers in training getting right now to enable them to be more effective in dealing with the children who exhibit variability in the regular classroom? There are at least as many youngsters right now in regular classrooms who have problems as severe as those whom we are identifying for special education services. Someone must provide for the needs of children in the regular classroom. There must be a shared responsibility for the programming, the placement, and the mobility of all youngsters in all classrooms. Collaboration in the training of all teachers can result in such shared responsibility. Further, collaboration should not only enhance the educational process, but also the improvement of teachers' skills.

Student Assessment

Another major area of concern is the concept of student assessment and the fact that such assessment should not only identify children's needs, but also lead to instructional prescriptions. Assessment must be applied to programming. Further, we increasingly learn that criterion-referenced assessment can enhance the relationship between diagnosis and the development of meaningful academic programs. Even more important, such assessment can facilitate meaningful experiences in school.

We must begin to make better decisions about where assessment fits into the life of the child in school. The organizational patterns we have designed to deal with children may not, in fact, provide for their needs. The school organization and its traditional practices are not more important that the child's needs. The Teacher Corps has been dealing with that discrepancy; there are projects that have worked in that area. They are developing meaningful approaches that should be shared with others, and that is the backbone of the Exceptional Child Component Demonstration Project.

Teacher Competency

Another area of concern to the project is the area of teacher competency. What are the common areas in which teachers need skills if they are to provide more humane and effective education? We are talking about *common* skills for all teachers, not skills based on children with particular needs. We can no longer say, "This child is crippled; therefore,

Current Teacher Corps legislation provides projects with the opportunity to develop new models for the involvement of parents and other community members with their schools. The regulations which guide projects provide that those members of the community, through an elected council, will be involved in the making of project policy through a collaborative relationship of parity with representatives of schools and universities.

Velma Robinson
Teacher Corps—Washington

he gets another kind of education, and his or her teacher must have different preparation." We are finding that (except for the sensory-impaired—the deaf and the blind—and even then only for younger children) there is very little difference in the initial learning needs of children. In language development, for example, the concept of decoding symbols is universal; the concept of encoding as it applies to expressive language and writing is also universal—it exists within all languages and cultures. It is the same process that we all go through as we acquire language. There is thus a common body of skills which teachers can use to teach all children, at least in some areas.

When we discuss teacher competency, we must also consider teacher attitudes. We now know that mongoloid children can learn to read. But before a teacher undertakes the task of helping that child to learn to read, we must ask, "Do you mind teaching mongoloid children?" If we can establish that, we can then discuss whether or not mongoloid children can learn to read. Attitudes have a lot to do with teacher competencies; we are dealing not only with what teachers can do, but also with how they feel. Teachers who absolutely do not want to work with handicapped children probably should not. That does not mean we should not attempt to change the attitudes of those people; it simply means that people who are angry and antagonistic about their teaching assignments are not going to do children any good. As a group, teachers, with the proper support, understanding, and motivation, can be successful in working with kids with problems. But the process of changing negative attitudes is a long and slow process. The process must be undertaken, however; kids spend much of their lives in the regular classroom, and what happens to all children in regular classrooms is crucial to their developing lives.

Educational management is another important area which the project will consider. Exceptional Child Coordinators can always discuss generalities related to what makes a good school and what makes a poor school. But when we get down to the everyday classroom level, as Teacher Corps projects must, we must deal with the day-to-day feelings and experiences of teachers.

A Final Concern

The final area of concern of the Exceptional Child Component Demonstration Project is a result of Regulation 504, which is part of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973. That regulation provides for access of the handicapped to employment. Concomitant to that regulation has been national movement to include and encourage individuals who are handicapped to become a part of the employment mainstream. I would ask projects to consider whether or not they have throught about including handicapped adults on their staffs. That is an important aspect of the kinds of educational improvements that the Teacher Corps seeks to generate.

Finally, I am excited about the opportunity the Exceptional Child Component Demonstration Project will provide, the opportunity to work closely with Teacher Corps projects and to mount this demonstration effort. The project hopes to chart some new directions for the Exceptional Child Component. Unlike many other such ventures, however, the project will seek to build on real experience in the field. That is certainly the most exciting aspect of the Exceptional Child Component Project.

Phillip Mann is the Director of the Exceptional Child Component Demonstration Project.

Resistance to the Education for All Handicapped Children Act

Thomas Behrens

The Issue of Money

Public Law 94-142, The Education for All Handicapped Children Act, has been in effect for nearly two years now, and we are facing resistance. One group claims that it is inappropriate to spend the large sums required by the Act for handicapped children. This group is growing more rapidly than anyone ever thought it could. The law, however, says that exceptional children — all children, in fact — are entitled to free, appropriate public education. That growing pocket of resistance should be reminded that there are approximately eight million parents of handicapped children who have paid for *all* children's free public education with their taxes. In addition, they have paid for the education of their handicapped children when those children have been enrolled in special programs of one kind or another. We must put those facts on the table and discount the issue of added expense for the education of the handicapped. That fight can be won.

The Least Restrictive Environment

The second resistant group acts as if exceptional children were taboo. They suggest that handicapped children who enter the beautifully organized classrooms of non-handicapped children will prevent "normal" children from learning appropriately. Let's not kid ourselves; the majority of handicapped children are already in the regular classroom. Those who are trying to create resistance by suggesting that the severely handicapped will be entering the regular classroom must be dealt with. We need to explain what the least restrictive environment actually means for each individual child. We cannot confuse that issue with mainstreaming; by the same token, we cannot avoid the law.

The Need for Flexible Educators

If we are to overcome the resistance to P.L. 94-142, we must look at the field of teacher education. We cannot continue to train teachers as we have in the past. We must try to bring about a change. In addition to redefining the least restrictive environment for the individual child, we must realize that, whether we like it or not, the law says that the child no longer must fit into our educational systems. The law says that the educational community must create an environment which will meet the individual needs of *all* children.

P.L. 94-142 is not a bandwagon; it is something we have to do. We have to try to create educators who are flexible, who are pedagogues in the real sense of the word. Once educators are flexible, educational institutions will cease to be obstacles to our efforts to implement a civil rights law. *That* is the central issue to be dealt with in addressing resistance to the Education For All Handicapped Children Act.

Thomas Behrens is Branch Chief of the Eastern Region Branch, Division of Personnel Preparation, Bureau of Education of the Handicapped, U.S. Office of Education.

The Education of Exceptional Children: Issues to Address

Maynard Reynolds

New Needs—New Responses

Mainstreaming as a major, many-faceted innovation in education can be distinguished from some other recent innovations in at least two ways: First, there is a very strong legal imperative for mainstreaming, in the form of P.L. 94-142, various court decisions, and many state acts. Second, and quite simply, events are running ahead of the educational community's response to our legal imperatives.

A second aspect of our response to new needs in the education of exceptional children is the fact that we seem to be renegotiating the relationships that are involved in dealing with handicapped persons. For example, the rules and regulations regarding the education of handicapped children will never again be written only by special educators. Regular educators, principals, assistant superintendents, school boards, and others are already involved in that process. Relationships between regular and special education teachers are being renegotiated—one-by-one, building-by-building, and system-by-system. Many difficulties arise when special educators come out of their little boxes—their "special" enclaves—and renegotiate a consulting relationship with regular teachers.

Changing Relationships

Others, too, must now renegotiate. Children must renegotiate as we move them toward more heterogeneous groups—and try to make that an educational advantage. That requires the development of children's social structures and social skills as they renegotiate their relationships. That is also true of parents. Finally, colleges and universities must renegotiate the relationships between their special education departments and parallel entities such as elementary, secondary, and vocational education departments. That is happening—piece-by-piece—as awarenesses and commitments grow.

Third, we are responding to new imperatives by changing the basic governance structure of programs for the handicapped. Those programs are no longer owned only by special educators or the parents of the handicapped. Many people are beginning to suggest that this trend may be an opening for a more general change in the governance structure of schools.

Related to governance and changing involvements is a fourth new trend, the trend toward involving high-level specialists in the "lower" levels of endeavor in special education. For example, we are beginning to bring the specialist in education of the deaf into established collaborative working relationships with regular teachers. That will help to create the kind of environment in which deaf children can live and learn without being separated from other children. Seymour Sarason has said that there is a tendency for specialists to create environments that only specialists can manage. If we send exceptional children off to those very special environments, and leave them with the specialist for too long, something terribly negative begins to happen to those children. There is thus a new challenge, a move toward detaching many of the specialists at the upper reaches and bringing them into classrooms. The role changes involved in that process are enormous, for specialists as they are for regular teachers. That is a part of the re-negotiation process in the training environment.

Diagnose Children and Situations

Fifth, I would remind educators that diagnosis should be made of situations as well as of children. That means asking questions such as, What kind of pupil classification system is used? What is the architectural environment of the school? Are acoustics conducive to helping the aurally impaired? What kind of social structures are created for children? Are teachers well trained to manage social structures so that children can deal with differences? Does the grading system give every child a decent chance for sensing progress and feeling encouraged?

Next, I would suggest that there are some real dangers in our current efforts in the education of exceptional children. We may not be doing as well as we could. The training of special and regular educators may well be very superficial. During the last year, I have seen more handy-dandy guides on how to fill out the newly required forms than just about anything else. We are concerned about how to get teachers through the forms and how to alert them to the five essential elements of an Individualized Education Program. We must, however, deal with more fundamental issues as we address the needs of exceptional children.

Needed: New Knowledge

Finally, I would like to suggest that our reinvigorated efforts in the education of exceptional children require, in a sense, a new literature in education. The knowledge bases we have drawn upon in the past are not always relevant to the issues we now face. Serious efforts at innovation are being made in various parts of the country; we need to give those efforts high visibility so that the dialogue on this innovation proceeds on a well-informed basis. Those are issues to address in the education of exceptional children.

Maynard Reynolds is the Director of the National Support Systems Project on Mainstreaming at the University of Minnesota.

Education that is Multicultural and School Desegregation

Tom Fagan

A Sometimes Unfortunate Policy

School desegregation court orders very often include the requirement of educational efforts which are multicultural. That is a fortunate provision in many ways, since it uses desegregation to bring about appropriate, needed changes in school systems. On the other hand, it is also unfortunate because, in the minds of both kids and parents, such provisions tie desegregation and multicultural education together, although the two are not necessarily linked. Further, the requirement for multicultural education provokes an attitude among parents and kids, especially among Anglos, that multicultural education is a negative experience, one which would not be necessary if association with minority groups were not required.

The basic value of multicultural education—a value which is intrinsic to any setting—is thus ignored. That further suggests that multicultural education is only useful and necessary in multicultural settings, which is not the case. Thus, multicultural education is often viewed negatively, rather than as the positive experience it ought to be. Perhaps even worse, those attitudes extend to and are held by pre- and inservice teachers who are being trained under the Emergency School Aid Act.

Desegregation and Curriculum Reform

Another difficulty related to desegregation and multicultural education is the kinds of programs which are instituted in school systems as a result of desegregation. Very often the courts order desegregating school districts to reform their curricula to ensure that they reflect the contributions of various ethnic groups. In response to such orders, school systems all too often merely add some courses in multicultural arts or history, which they feel will bring about multicultural education in the system. They too seldom address the basic curriculum, which is where the cultural biases exist; curricula thus remain deficient. As long as the basic curricula and texts remain monocultural and reflect white middle-class values, a new course in Black History or a new course in the contributions of various ethnic groups will not advance multicultural education. These issues are central to the relationships between multicultural education and desegregation.

Positive Relationships

There are, of course, positive aspects of school desegregation and multicultural education. First, multicultural education features which are joined to desegregation can be active; they can—and should—involve kids and parents in meaningful activities, since various cultural groups are present in such a situation. Further, it is extraordinarily important to involve parents and others in the multicultural education component of desegregation efforts, since a good deal of the turmoil that takes place in school desegregation comes from parental attitudes. If those attitudes can be changed and parents can learn to get along with and understand one another, the process of desegregation is much easier.

A third point which is very important in multicultural education and desegregation efforts is this: Curricula must be designed to enforce desegregation. I say that because it so often happens that the reverse occurs: Multicultural education efforts tend to segregate students. For example, a school may offer separate elective courses in Black culture, in Latino culture, and in Asian culture. And, all too often, Black kids choose the Black culture elective, Asians study Asian culture, and Latinos choose to study Latino culture. That effectively segregates groups from one another—all in the name of multicultural education! Such an approach tells kids and their parents that the only people who need to know about Black culture are Blacks; the only people who only need to know about Latino culture are Latinos, and the only people who need to know about Asian culture are

Asians—the white kids can study trigonometry. That thus not only provides ways by which kids can segregate themselves, but also suggests a limited view of what is appropriate for them to study. There's no reason why a school system cannot develop courses in multicultural education which integrate various groups. That would be both proper and fitting—and would promote real learning. Multicultural education coursework must be designed to enhance desegregation, rather than to resegregate children.

A Global Approach

Finally, I would suggest that multicultural education in schools should include extracurricular activities. There are desegregated schools which have both a glee club and a gospel singing group. It doesn't take any genius to predict which activity attracts which ethnic groups. The same is true in schools which have orchestras on the one hand and jazz bands on the other. That effectively segregates kids as well.

My main point is that multicultural education is not something that school systems should do because they are desegregating. It is something they ought to be doing regardless of the ethnic makeup of the schools. It is a revision of the entire curriculum, as well as the full scope of school activities. Multicultural education, then, should be a global approach to developing our schools and our children.

Tom Fagan is the Chief of the Special Projects Branch of the Equal Educational Opportunity Program.

The Premises Underlying Effective Migrant Education Programs

F. G. Binder

The Origins of Migrant Education Programs

In 1966, Congress authorized a migrant program under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA). The major purpose of that program was to identify children of migratory workers and to provide them with services to supplement and improve their education. Funds are granted to state education agencies, which are responsible for the design, administration, and evaluation of comprehensive statewide programs. Two problems in migrant education today are embedded in that legislation: The question of what services and activities migrant youngsters need, and the fact that funds are chanelled through state education agencies, which tend to know little about migrant people.

Children are eligible for participation in migrant programs if they move from one school district covered by the Act to another such district and do so to enable one or more family members to work in agriculture, fishing, or a related food-processing job. The question of eligibility is complicated by the fact that programs from the Office of Education and the Departments of Health, Education and Welfare, Labor, and Agriculture all have different guidelines for the identification of migrant youngsters.

The Characteristics of Migrant Children

Migrant children do have many common characteristics. Their families move three or four times a year, and that creates a sense of rootlessness among family members, especially younger children. Migrant children move with their parents across the country in search of farm labor, and suffer the consequent limitations of educational opportunities. Migrant children also work. They work long hours under hazardous conditions. An average 300 to 400 migrant youngsters are seriously injured in connection with work each year. And migrant children do not have health insurance or workmen's compensation. Migrant youngsters are also frustrated by our schools and drop out at early ages.

The Concerns of Migrant Children

Migrant children begin their migrant lives very early; some are born in the fields, without even the care of mid-wives. Migrant children tell us that their primary concerns early in life are not friends or playmates; they are concerned about such things as birth certificates. Their legal status is very important because they are frequently stopped by state authorities. They are concerned about their long journeys and how to survive the fatigue that comes from traveling long distances as a family group.

Recognizing the unreliable nature of statistics dealing with migrant workers, it is safe to say that there are about 780,000 school-age migrant youngsters in the United States. Of that number, approximately 400,000 have completed less than 8.5 years of formal schooling. Only 33 percent of the 300,000 youths who do not drop out of grade school will go to high school, and only 33 percent of that population will complete high school degrees. There appears to be an inverse ratio between those migrant youngsters who enter grade school and those who enter high school. Thus, either migrant youngsters are overwhelming dropouts or, as they enter high school, the migrant description no longer fits. We feel we can prove that the former assumption is correct.

It is estimated that over 85 percent of the migrant youngsters in this country are Spanish-speaking. About 70 percent of that population resides in the Southwest. I would like to concentrate on the migrant children in Texas—about 300,000 migrant youngsters between the ages of five and 22. We have worked with such school-age children for the past ten years in a program that has several basic premises.

Anthropologists tell us that language is the most crucial cultural variable. Language, indeed, is culture. Language transmits culture, and is the vehicle by which we come to truly understand culture. Thus, those who are committed to helping children or adults understand each other's culture must address the issue of language. What better way, then, to deal with multicultural education than to begin by helping students to understand the processes of language and communication?

Geneva Gay
Purdue University

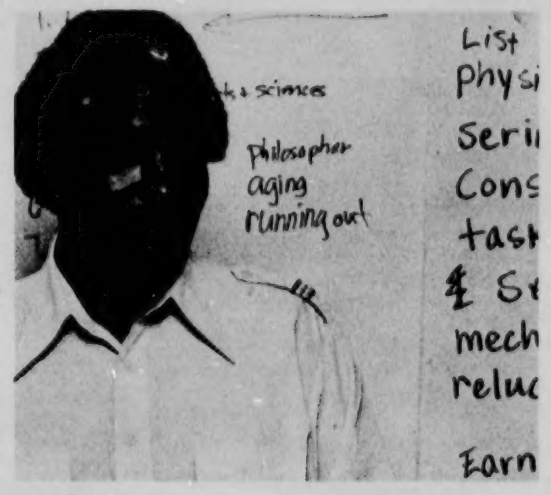
Premise One: Achievement

Our first premise (and these premises must lay the foundation for effective migrant education programs) is that the educational achievement level of migrant children is the lowest of any group within our society. Only 86.1 percent of those migrant students who enter elementary schools will graduate from those schools. Only 20 percent of those migrant students who begin high school in Texas will graduate. The figure is over 65 percent for other groups in Texas.

In 1975, we found that 25,000 Chicanos—the population from which most migrant workers are drawn in the Southwest—began college in Texas. Fewer than 5,000 of that number would complete a degree program. We estimate that less than one percent of that number came from migrant families. Male migrant students drop out most often at the sixth grade, or within the first six months of the ninth grade. Migrant females drop out most often in the second month of the tenth grade. The dropout rate of migrant children shows that their educational achievement is the lowest of any, by a large degree.

Premise Two: Opportunity

Our second premise is that migrant children have fewer educational opportunities than any other group in our society. Our students have told us that they change schools at least twice a year, and often three times. Over 80 percent work full time in the fields before they reach the ninth grade. Ninety-seven percent of our college-level students indicate they have worked full time in the fields before entering college. We also know that school attendance is not a strong tradition, owing to the lifestyle of mobility and work. We cannot lay the blame for that fact on migrant parents. We surveyed 100 sets of migrant parents and found that the number one priority for migrant parents is to own their own home. Their second priority is to get all the education for their children that the children want.



Migrant parents do care—but the system works against them because of their mobility.

Premise Three: Language

The third premise of effective migrant education programs is the fact that Spanish is the home language of most migrant children entering the school for the first time. The language barrier is, quite simply, overpowering. Of the 1,200 students in the migrant programs at St. Edwards and Pan American Universities, ninety-seven percent indicated that Spanish is their first language. Only 26 percent indicated they knew both Spanish and English before they entered the first grade. Sixty-eight percent told us that Spanish was the only language they knew when they entered the first grade.

By the time such children finish the first grade, they are two grade levels behind the first grade children who have an English-speaking background. Further, over 95 percent of the money allocated for migrant programs is put into programs in the first six grades, most of it in the first three grades. If a migrant child doesn't make it in the first six grades, there is nothing left—unless that migrant drops out and a compensatory program picks up the child.

Premise Four: School Financing

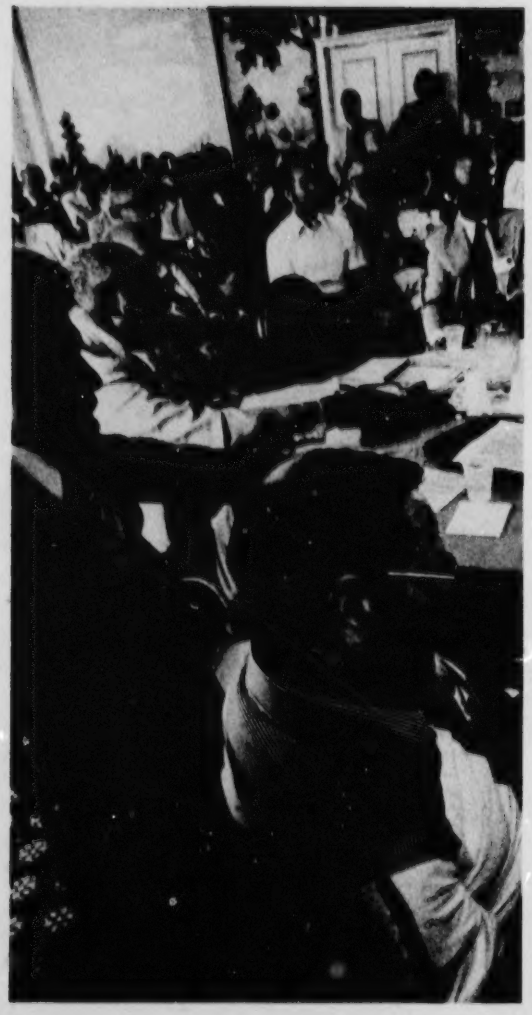
The fourth premise of effective migrant programs is the fact that the system of school financing works to the detriment of districts with heavy concentrations of migrant students. The tax system works against the school system made up of large numbers of poor families. They have fewer books per student and fewer physical laboratories; they are not involved in any statewide diagnostic testing to speak of. Extracurricular activities are almost nonexistent, and the curriculum is built around an academic program which relates little to migrant needs. And their teachers are poorly qualified.

These premises—lack of achievement and opportunity, and problems of language and school finance—must be recognized and dealt with if the educational problems of migrant children are to be appropriately addressed. Clearly, the needs of such children are pressing, and it is the task of educators to attempt to meet those needs. Effective migrant education programs can be developed—they *have* been developed, but much work remains to be done if we are to provide migrant children with their right to a free and equal education.

F. G. Binder is Associate Vice President of Student Life at St. Edward's University.

Bilingual Education: History, Problems, Prospects

Carole Joseph



Legislative Background

I would like to begin by reviewing the historical background of bilingual education. We all know that the schools are the institutions that have the greatest impact on the opportunities of children, and that is why we have so many court cases related to equal opportunity. The importance of equal educational opportunity was emphasized in the Brown versus Board of Education case in 1954, the famous case that was followed by the civil rights movement in the 1950s and 1960s. Similarly, in 1968, Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act was passed in an effort to overcome discrimination against children of limited- and non-English speaking capacity.

There are 1.6 million such children in the United States, vast numbers of whom were being denied an equal opportunity for a quality education. Title VII was intended to address that problem. Then, in 1972, Congress passed the Ethnic Heritage Act, which many people consider the first time that Congress said, in effect, "We accept the reality of cultural pluralism in this country." That represented a second boost for bilingual education. A third was the Lau versus Nichols decision in 1974, which was won under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act.

Problems of Implementation

Bilingual-bicultural education, then, evolved from those events, and the educational system was caught unprepared to respond. One problem was the fact that there were few teachers prepared to deal with bilingual situations. As a result, few colleges and school districts prepared crash programs to train people to work in those situations. Another problem was caused by the fact that a bilingual situation involves not only two languages, but also two cultures, since culture is an integral part of language. Because we cannot divorce culture from language, those who teach children in two languages must also deal with two cultures. The problem with that is the fact that the legislated bilingual education programs were designed primarily to deal only with language.

Another problem with the bilingual legislation is the fact that the programs implemented in the public schools have been geared to children with low socioeconomic status. The original Bilingual Education Act stipulated that children had to be of a certain income level to benefit from bilingual programs, and that has caused a lot of problems because it tends to segregate poor children. It has also segregated linguistic groups; all the Hispanic kids are in one classroom; all the Haitian kids are in another, and all the Vietnamese kids are in a third. That is a truly disturbing side effect of bilingual programs.

Bilingual and Multicultural Programs

The relationship between bilingual programs and education that is multicultural is very positive, since biculturalism is intrinsic to bilingual education. The only real problem in that area is some schools' tendency to give the resident minority culture more importance than others. That is clearly a danger.

One of the major dangers related to bilingual programs is that, unless bilingual education comes to be valued for everyone, it will remain an offering for those people who come to this country and cannot speak English. Bilingual education, I would assert, should be used to teach second languages to many types of students. That, in fact, is the notion behind bilingual programs: That they be used to enhance the linguistic range and abilities of *all* children.

Carole Joseph is an Instructor in the Bilingual Department of the City College of New York.

Education that is Multicultural and the Native American Peoples

Robin Butterfield

The Impossibility of Generalization

I would like to emphasize some factors (and some facts) which are important in considering the culture of the Native American and the relationship of that culture to multicultural education. Most of all, I would like first to point out that I am not an authority on Native Americans. One of the most common mistakes is the assumption, the stereotype, that every Indian is an authority on the subject of *the* Native American culture. The concept of multiculturalism is extremely appropriate for Native Americans because they come from so many different backgrounds and cultural tribes that generalization is nearly impossible.

A Dynamic Culture

Second, I would like to point out the fact that the life situation of Native Americans today is totally absent from the curriculum offered in most classrooms. All too often, schools offer a small unit on Native Americans around Thanksgiving, when children put on headbands or dress up a little bit. Indians are not presented as people who actually exist today. Indians, that suggests, were people who met the white settlers when they arrived in North America; then Indians disappeared.

The culture of the Native American is not seen as dynamic; Native Americans, our curricula suggest, live in teepees or hogans, and are not real people today. The culture of the Native American had evolved before white people made contact with them, and it is still evolving. The fact that Native Americans don't live the same way they did in the last century does not mean that they are no longer a people with traditions and a culture of their own. That fact is too often ignored by our schools and their curricula. There are even many Native American students who have now moved to urban areas and who don't see themselves as being Indian anymore. That is especially true of those who don't look as dark and who have been separated from reservation life, where there are still strong cultural influences.

Third, I would point out that Indians are pushing the move toward segregation extremely hard today because, for so long, they have had no input into their own education. Segregation is, then, a viable means by which Native Americans hope to reassert their right to determine their own lives and futures.

Inaccurate Information

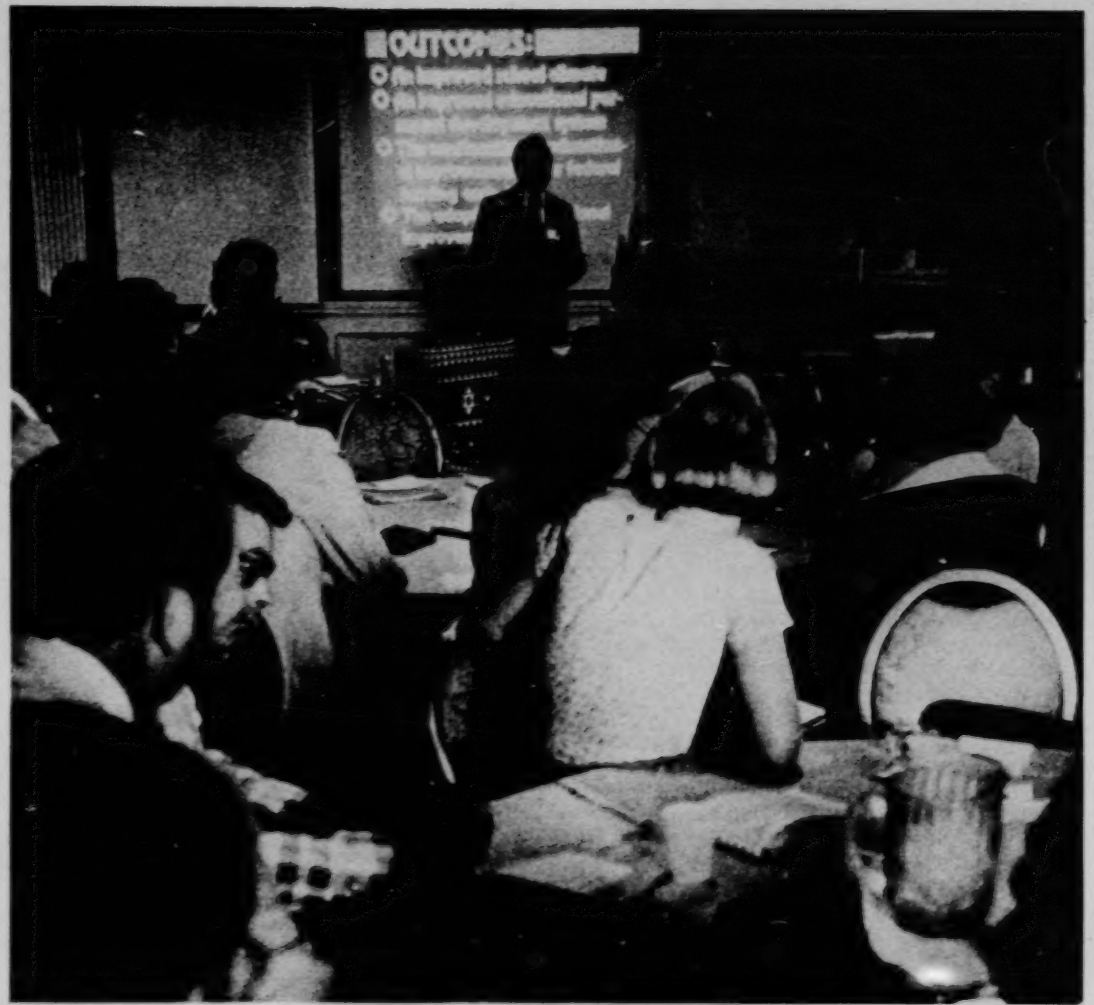
Fourth, too much of the information that is presented about Native Americans is totally inaccurate. Indians are not barbaric, and were not so when they first made contact with whites. They were (and are) highly sophisticated and cultured people. The Native Americans' philosophy and religion are highly sophisticated and should be studied if we are to gain any insight into their culture.

I would suggest that the points I have made should form the foundation of educational efforts to incorporate the Native American culture into multicultural curricula and processes. Native Americans and their culture represent one of the sources of the rich American diversity. Native Americans should be studied in ways which highlight the fact that each Indian tribe has its own unique culture; that those cultures are dynamic; and that the contributions of those cultures are an important part of the larger culture in which we live.

Robin Butterfield is an educational consultant with the Native American Bicultural Curriculum Development Project of the State of Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction.

The State Education Agencies and the Teacher Corps

Robert Ardike



State education agency involvement has always been necessary in the Teacher Corps program, but the Teacher Corps needs to be more specific about the SEA role. There is, of course, the SEA's approval function; the Teacher Corps legislation does not allow the program to award a project grant in any state without the approval of the SEA.

The state role was intensified in the 1967 discussions in the Congress, when questions were raised as to how Teacher Corps Interns were coming into states without the knowledge of state departments of education. It was then determined that the state departments should at least know and understand the Teacher Corps. The question then raised was, How much would real involvement cost? It was suggested by some that such involvement might cost several million dollars. Others felt that would not be the case. All agreed that it was absolutely essential to have state departments aware of what was happening in their domains. In fact, it was suggested that project approval should be a prerogative given each SEA in order to avoid difficulties such as conflicting goals in inservice program operations.

The Teacher Corps finds comfort in having a responsive and knowledgeable SEA liaison in each state who is able to help us address any problem which may arise at that particular site. It is comforting to know that Teacher Corps people can deal with an individual, a person within a state bureaucracy, and know that the individual will be immediately familiar with the Teacher Corps. That has been a great asset. Finally, the Teacher Corps is committed to expanding ways in which each SEA can help the program improve.

Robert Ardike is Associate Director, Management of the Teacher Corps.

An Overview of the National Council of States on Inservice Education

James Collins

The National Council of States on Inservice Education was established in December, 1975. The Council was intended to provide a way for state agencies to examine, discuss, and disseminate information on Teacher Corps goals for inservice education and to consider the relationship of those goals with state goals for inservice education. At that time, the Teacher Corps was moving increasingly into inservice education while also continuing its preservice emphasis. It seemed appropriate to move more toward inservice education, given the surplus of teachers in many areas. The Council was thus established to deal with that particular aspect of teacher education.

Membership

The Council consists of one representative from each of its member states, as well as liaisons from the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, the American Association of School Administrators, the American Federation of Teachers, the National Education Association, the Association of Teacher Educators, and the Teacher Corps Networks. The Council has a membership of about 30 states, with five or six states pending. By spring, we hope to have about 45 member states as well as a couple of territories in the Council. The body, a group of some forty to fifty people, meets about five times a year.

Goals

When it was established, the Council's basic goal was to develop leadership in inservice education by promoting relationships and linkages with appropriate national groups; by sponsoring meetings, seminars, and conferences; and by developing and distributing papers on timely and important issues related to inservice education. The Council was to disseminate information on inservice education and to provide a national forum on issues related to that topic. Further, the Council was to identify state educational agencies' processes for developing state plans for inservice education. Those tasks were to be undertaken in the context of the concerns and interest of the Teacher Corps. The Council is now beginning to focus on linking the inservice education plans of projects within states and Teacher Corps Networks with state agency goals and aspirations for inservice education.

Publications

Through its publications, the Council tries to raise important key issues relating to inservice education and to promote promising practices. The Council newsletter goes out every six to eight weeks. The thematic issues of forthcoming newsletters will include state planning, the role of higher education, the Teacher Corps inservice programs and P.L. 94-142, and facilitating the delivery of inservice education.

The Council is also publishing a series of monographs on education personnel development. The first in that series is a monograph by Louis Rubin, *Perspectives on Preservice and Inservice Education.* Others in the series include *The Role of the State Education Association,* and a state-of-the-scene analysis of inservice education.

Collaborative Relationships

The most recognizable attitude of the Council is openness. Its members truly desire to interact with other groups. That attitude and those linkages can lead to the improvement of inservice education, which is, after all, the Council's basic goal. The Council thus promotes collaborative models for the development and delivery of inservice programs. State members' efforts must be undertaken in cooperation with colleges, professional associations, teachers, administrators, and others. The Council very strongly encourages the development and dissemination of collaborative models.

James Collins is Director of the National Council of States on Inservice Education.

Section Four

Responsibilities

Five-year Teacher Corps projects provide for a full year of development and planning. That year of preparation makes projects look easy, but they are decidedly not easy. The extensive study of Title I and other projects shows quite clearly that only a very few such projects come anywhere near realizing their planners' hopes.

Project Directors often seem to have only a vague idea of how to plan and implement undertakings which involve dozens of people and hundreds of thousands of dollars. The most typical method of coping with the direction of such projects can best be characterized as muddling through. Decisions made within the space of a few minutes come back with a roar, six months later, to disable the enterprise. Original goals and intents get lost in the shuffle. Everything takes at least twice as long as planners anticipated.

Matthew Miles
Center for Policy Research

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A critical factor in the institutionalization of any program (and institutionalization is a major requirement of all Teacher Corps projects) is the building of a political base; that is, the development of constituencies that desire the program to be implemented in a lasting way. That was a major feature in the success of the Career Opportunities Program of the EDPA. In that instance, various community-based groups (as well as the paraprofessional workers themselves) were a critical force in the implementation and dissemination of that program.

The Teacher Corps community council can mobilize resources in a similar fashion for the implementation of the new Teacher Corps projects. They can do that by paying careful attention to assessing the needs of the community, by mobilizing resources to meet those needs, and by increasing the access to participation of community groups who have hitherto been removed from the mainstream of participation. The community council can be the hub around which are integrated various human service and natural resources in the community into a new pattern which greatly expands their overall effectiveness.

Frank Riessman
City University of New York

Deans As Active Participants In Program 78

William L. Smith

Introduction

The dean of the college, school, or department of education is an important member of the Teacher Corps project team. The dean's part on that team is in fact crucial, since that person represents the institution of higher education on the project's policy board and participates in the institutionalization and other phases of the project. The deans' participation in Program 78 should allow them the luxury of planning the kinds of changes they would like to occur within their institutions over the next five years. We at the Teacher Corps-Washington office realize that changing an institution takes time. We see our role as providing deans with the resources—the time, money, and personnel—to plan, implement, institutionalize, and disseminate educational improvements that will change the institution of higher education and, ultimately, the face of schooling in the United States.

Participation in Planning

Regardless of what Guba and Clark report about the powerless feelings deans say they have, they are still viewed as among the most powerful decision-makers in institutions of higher education. For this reason, the Teacher Corps Program 78 improvement strategy mandates the participation of the dean on the local project's policy board. Moreover, deans' participation on the local project's planning team will benefit the project—primarily by helping to clarify project purposes as they relate to the IHE.

By becoming more involved in the project planning process, deans will encourage by example the other members of the team to be more fully involved in planning. Participation in planning affords deans the opportunity to make decisions about what they would like to accomplish. It also means beginning to think about those areas of change, or improvement, that will allow faculty members to be more fully responsive to the training needs of inservice teachers.

Some deans, especially those new to the Teacher Corps process, may be reluctant to participate in project teaming sessions. Deans may feel that, because of their position of authority, they may intimidate the other members of the team. To the contrary, we have found that the dean's presence at a teaming session will generally be seen as supportive. This support is the main ingredient in helping the people on the front line representing the institution of higher education.

Collaboration

We in Washington expect deans to be active members of the projects' policy board. The dean is an equal partner on the policy board—equal with the superintendent of schools and the community council chairperson. To insure that deans have adequate data upon which to make their policy decisions, they need to keep informed about the day-to-day operation of the project. I recommend that deans insist that Project Directors keep them informed on a regular basis as they deal with the daily politics of the program. It could be that Project Directors will promise more than the institution of higher education can deliver. The repercussions of these promises may not be felt for several years—but they may be repercussions that the dean may not want to live with. Being informed will prevent such a problem from occurring.

The collaborative process expected in Program 78 projects is going to make some heavy demands upon deans. The members of the policy board must display a commitment if collaboration is to work. That means that the dean (and not a representative) should be present at policy board meetings. The members of the policy board should work together and reach agreement about how best to attain the goals of the program.

In terms of the dean's commitment to collaboration, I suggest that deans keep informed about what is being promised, and also keep the intended direction of the institution of higher education in

*Our experience at the conference luncheon today was relevant to one of the key issues of documentation. The meal was very good, but there was one problem. We were all served the same entree, but one group at our table thought it was veal. Another group suggested it was pork. And a third insisted they were eating lamb. It occurred to me that those who thought they were eating lamb but don't like lamb might have exchanged entrees with those who thought they had veal. At any rate, the point is this: No matter what each of us perceived, we were really sharing the same experience. It was our perceptions that shaded our common reality.**

Theodore Andrews
Andrews-Bryant Concern for Educational Development

**Editor's note: It was veal.*

mind. The former will prevent unnecessary tensions between deans and their colleagues in collaboration; the latter will provide the necessary direction to the project team. In the long run, this should prevent many problems.

On the topic of collaboration and the policy board, it is germane to consider the relationship of the Project Director to the policy board. Project Directors are a hard-working and dedicated group. They should be respected for the work they do. But they are *not* the leaders of the Teacher Corps program. The leadership of this program comes from the policy board, which is comprised of the deans, superintendents, and community council chairpersons. The policy board makes policy decisions; the Project Director is the administrator of policy.

Inservice Education

The major emphasis in teacher education has in recent years been shifting from preservice education to inservice education. The Teacher Corps has also shifted its focus. As we shift, those institutions that have the personnel and the programs ready to serve inservice teachers will be in the best position to respond. At this point in time, and unless institutions of higher education begin to accept this change and be responsive, it looks as though it will not be they who decide the direction of inservice teacher education. In my opinion, as long as institution of higher education faculties continue to "do their own thing" in their own time, teachers and school administrators will look elsewhere for the services they feel they need. To become responsive to the training needs of inservice teachers, deans will have to focus their faculties to face some hard issues related to the reallocation of human resources.

The Program 78 design offers the dean the luxury of planning ways by which to respond to the inservice needs of teachers. Deans can begin to determine the extent to which faculties now have the desire and skills needed to deliver inservice train-

ing. Further, deans can begin to help their faculties accept their own needs for inservice education. Implicit in this task are the questions, Who? What? When? How? Yes, how do we provide inservice training to the IHE faculty? The problem, as I see it, is, "Everybody wants to learn, but no one wants to be taught."

I know that gearing up an IHE faculty to become more responsive to the inservice training needs of teachers in the field is not easy. My hope is that deans will use the opportunities afforded by Program 78 to help them help their faculties to enhance their capabilities.

The Deans' Council

Deans, if they are to fulfill our hopes for their part in our projects, will need more than money. They will also need support. An important organizational source of support is the regional or state network, the grouping of projects that share a geographic proximity. The networks were designed to alleviate isolation of project staffs and to facilitate the sharing of ideas and concerns.

A Deans' Council is associated with each network. That Council will provide a forum for deans to find out about, as well as share, some of the exciting things happening in local projects. It can also be a forum to address some of the issues which deans face. I hope deans use their councils to share ideas about the best ways to effect change in the IHE, the school, or the community. Sharing information could prove to be most useful to deans as they attempt to institutionalize educational personnel training.

Institutionalization

Federal funding for educational personnel development is going to become scarce over the next several years. Fortunately, Program 78 allows deans to plan how to go about more permanently installing the successful aspects of a project in the IHE. Even though there will be time and money to develop institutionalization strategies, this process may be easier said than done. As some of the university-based Project Directors have said, "We seem to get more accomplished with the people in the public schools than we do with our colleagues at the IHE. They don't seem very interested in what we are doing or what we need. We have little confidence that if they did know, they would want to fight to help bring about change." I'm not certain how accurate those perceptions are, but these are the Project Directors' perceptions.

Enhancing Teacher Education

Teacher Corps policy is to continue to work to enhance the IHE's efforts to improve teacher education. We will continue to do so for a variety of reasons, not the least of which is that helping the IHE is one of our reasons for existing. If we are to do this work effectively, we must have your help in determining how best to use the limited resources available. We also need to know what deans' problems are and what they consider the priorities in teacher education.

In Closing

Finally, I would urge deans to talk to Project Directors frequently and, if necessary, to clear a path for the Project Director through the organizational structure of the IHE to facilitate this communication. It is important that the director know the dean is committed to Teacher Corps outcomes. Let me also wish the deans well as we begin this untested five-year venture together. Through collaboration, cooperation, and commitment, we will be successful in improving education, not only for teachers, but also for the children they serve.

William L. Smith is Director of the Teacher Corps.

The Function of Evaluation

G. Thomas Fox

Portrayal Activities

Evaluation and documentation are not independent, separate activities. There is a huge chunk of activity that could be called either; that body of activities can be called "portrayals". Portrayals may be helpful in the study of the relationship between documentation and evaluation. Of course, some activities are purely documentation and others are purely evaluation. Portrayal activities are those which encompass both evaluation and documentation. Such portrayals are regular, descriptive accounts of what is happening at the project: Critical events, factors that impinge upon decisions, and some account of what is happening, for example.

Portrayals are in some ways subjective; they try to tell a story and place some meaning upon what has occurred. One extremely important emphasis in the Teacher Corps on evaluation and documentation is the process of project staff members getting together and discussing what is happening: What major decisions have been made; what decisions are upcoming; what factors have had an impact on those decisions; and what problems have been encountered. That is what we mean by the portrayal activities of evaluation and documentation.

Demonstration

Demonstration, on the other hand, involves picking and choosing from those three areas—documentation, portrayals, and evaluation—and adding other relevant information. That body of data, for lack of a better word, is communicated to a particular audience in an attempt to apply our experience to the needs and interests of that audience. That is the basic relationship between documentation, evaluation, and demonstration.

Evaluation in the Local Project

There are only two major responsibilities of evaluation at the project site. The first is the internal process used for a particular project's own purposes, such as the process of collaboration and institutionalization. The major purpose of local site evaluation is to help ensure effective project dynamics. The use of evaluation as a management tool for achieving collaboration and institutionalization objectives is crucial to achieving those objectives.

A secondary use of evaluation is in the assessment of the impact a project has had within its target schools and the audiences being addressed with demonstration efforts. In other words, project outreach can be evaluated and documented in such a way that funds for support can be correlated with the impact that remains after the project ends. Thus, those processes can be applied to the goal of institutionalization.

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Documentation As A Process

Francis Ianni

Defining Documentation

We can define documentation essentially as a process by which we monitor, observe, define, and, in many ways, value what takes place in ongoing processes. Perhaps the best way to further define documentation is by giving an example. There is a story about a directive issued by the New York State Commissioner of Education a few years ago. That directive said, "Tomorrow at eight o'clock, Haley's Comet will be visible over this area, an event which takes place only once every 75 years. Have all students assembled in front of their schools, where the principal should explain this rare phenomenon to them. In case of rain, students should assemble in the school auditorium, where films of the comet will be shown."

When the directive reached New York City, the Chancellor of the New York City schools reissued the directive as follows: "By order of the State Commissioner, tomorrow at eight o'clock Haley's Comet will appear over New York City. If it rains, march the students into the auditorium, where we will show films, something which happens only once every 75 years."

The Chancellor issued his directive to each of the city's district superintendents, and one district superintendent reportedly put out the following directive: "By order of the 75-year-old Chancellor of schools, Haley's Comet will appear over our district at eight o'clock tomorrow. In case of rain, the Chancellor will give another order, something which happens only once every 75 years." The principal of one of the schools in that district sent out the following announcement: "Tomorrow at eight o'clock, the district superintendent will appear in front of the school, accompanied by Haley's Comet, something which happens once every 75 years. If it rains, the district superintendent will order the comet into the auditorium."

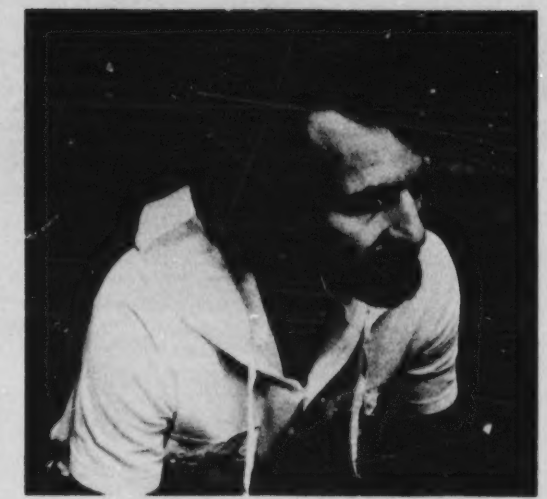
The teachers told their students, "Tomorrow at eight o'clock, the phenomenal 75-year-old Haley will drive his comet through the auditorium." Finally the students went home and told their parents, "Tomorrow at eight o'clock the 75-year-old principal will give an order in the auditorium. He will be accompanied by Bill Haley and the Comets."

That story is apocryphal, but what is interesting about it is that it is a realistic description of what happens as we move from level-to-level in any educational encounter.

The Importance of Documentation: An Example

Let me also offer a personal experience that illustrates why documentation is so tremendously important as a part of the evaluation process. A number of years ago, the New York City public school system decided that it was time to improve, time to change, and time to try to redevlop their elementary school program. Like school systems everywhere, they turned to universities for advice. Since it was New York City, it was impossible to go to only one university. They selected four professors, one from each of four major universities, and turned over to them the responsibility of developing the experimental elementary program.

Professors being what professors are, the four professors were unable to agree on any single new idea which would revolutionize elementary education. They literally developed four separate elementary programs. One was based on the assumption that, since school is obviously a good thing, the more of it you have, the better. One professor thus developed a plan called the extended school-day, in which children stayed in school for two extra hours. The second professor's plan was based upon the notion that, since curriculum is good, the more curricula we have, the better it is for the education of youngsters. Consequently, that professor proposed multiple-curricula approaches, which would be available in every classroom. The third and fourth plans were just as revolutionary, and all four plans were transferred to the Chancellor of the New York City Schools.



He took the plans to the Board of Education, which, being like boards of education everywhere, said, "That is fine for the professors, but they don't really understand what takes place in schools. If, for example, we extend the school day, that means we must pay teachers double time for overtime. We have to pay the custodians to stay longer. And parents who have made arrangements for their children after school must make new arrangements." So they changed that plan once more.

They then turned over to the district superintendents, who, being like district superintendents everywhere, decided that that might be very good for the central board of education, but that their district was different from other districts, and it was necessary to change the plan once more. They then turned the plan over to the school principals, who, being like principals everywhere, made additional changes and finally turned it over to the teachers. The teachers, like teachers everywhere, went into their classrooms and closed the door. Any similarity between what they did in their classrooms and the suggestions in the original plans was absolutely accidental.

The Historical Antecedents of Evaluation

In order to best understand documentation, we might consider the historical antecedents of evaluation. Those antecedents are represented by two separate strands of development. First, the idea of evaluation developed as part of the research process in education. Its essential function was to develop some means of valuing, some means of judging what takes place. This effort is undertaken essentially on the basis of scientific evidence, which requires some elementary controls, for example, the simple means of pre- and post-testing. Theoretically, the difference between pre- and post-test results represents the success or failure of a program. But pre- and post-testing, when that is the only means of evaluation, essentially evaluates children, and not programs. It omits from the data-gathering process a great deal of information that can be tremendously important.

The research process in evaluation is an essential tool and should be maintained. However, the second stream of development in evaluation raises some questions. Evaluation, where government agencies have been concerned, has been essentially for program monitoring purposes. At its inception, such monitoring was intended to make sure that federal money was spent the way it was supposed to be spent. Like research, that is not documentation.

"... The Purpose of Documentation Is ..."

Documentation is not for the purpose of producing research results, although that is a justifiable outcome of the process. Neither is documentation for the purpose of establishing how government funds were spent. Rather, the purpose of documentation is to develop an ongoing record, an ongoing process, and, finally, a continuous form of assessment for programs. That means that documentation is the essential tool for evaluation. One of the problems we have had with documentation is that we have tended to assume that it involves keeping records and using those records as a means of summative evaluation. Summative evaluation is a worthy idea. My experience, however, has always been that the summative evaluation process yields nothing more than a large, usually black-bound, document. That document is given to the program staff so that they will know what was done, what went wrong, and how the program might be improved if it were done again. And, of course, the program is never done again.

Documentation and Formative Evaluation

The notion of formative evaluation, on the other hand, is the real basis for documentation. Documentation should serve as a *process* by which an internal or external evaluator is able to indicate

A number of years ago a program in East Harlem gave youngsters cameras. They went out and took pictures of their environment. They took their photos to class and subsequently found ten tenement buildings that were in very bad condition. They then wrote to the borough president, and sent him their pictures. He was at the school two days later. Of the ten buildings they identified, six were eventually closed. The effect of that experience on those children was very important.

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to program staff what is taking place. In order to illustrate that viewpoint, let me describe the scheme which we use at the Horace Mann-Lincoln Institute at Teachers College. Our documentation scheme essentially asks three questions of program staff. First, we ask, "What are your objectives? What do you intend to do?" The second question is, "How do you intend to do it? What techniques, procedures, and processes will be used?" Third, we ask, "What outcomes, what products, would you like to see at the end of the evaluation procedures?"

These three notions—and documentation of progress or lack of progress toward them—is, we believe, the only valid basis for evaluation. Throughout the process of the program and its evaluation, one can look at the equation which associates these three factors and *continuously,* throughout the process, give feedback to the program staff. That feedback may say something like the following to project staff: "If you are going to maintain your present objectives, your current techniques are not going to be satisfactory for reaching the outcomes that you have described." We ask these questions and then allow the program staff to make adjustments in their program based upon the equation suggested by the questions. Having been asked those questions, project staff may well determine that the techniques which are being used will never produce the results which are hoped for. It may be that the outcomes which are being proposed are simply not possible to attain. If one uses documentation as part of this process, it becomes a technique by which a project can be considered from before its implementation to its eventual use in schools.

Another important issue in documentation relates to who actually documents. Evaluators should document, but *it is far more important for program staff members to do their own documentation.* It is necessary to keep adequate minutes of all meetings. It is necessary to keep accurate records of all tran-

sactions. That is part of projects' ongoing responsibility.

The Uses of Documentation

There are several major ways in which documentation can be used. First, it can contribute tremendously to the planning which goes into any good research project—and into any good evaluation. In that context, documentation means that, before taking on any new task or process, we must consider what has been done in the past. We must find out what has taken place elsewhere. We must consider how other programs have been effective, what their problems have been, and we must use that information—that documentation—as a means for planning.

The second use of documentation in the planning (and even the pre-planning) stage is in the determination of what resources are available to a particular institution which is about to take on a new project. Very often such resources are available within the agency (or available to it), but are simply not identified and documented in terms of how and under what circumstances they can be used. Third, documentation in the planning and pre-planning stage can be used as a means of developing a timeline which is critical to the development of any educational program. The timeline notion in documentation is so important because different time spans are very important in looking at educational programs. Projects very often have difficulty because they tend to go into many different phases, none of which ever quite reach completion. Documentation before the planning stage can be quite helpful in undertaking effective planning within time constraints.

Documentation and Program Continuation: Learning From Failures

Documentation is also at the base of the notion of continuing, expanding, and using a project as some means of certifying some process which has been developed. One of the great problems in that area is the fact that documentation systems are very seldom used to point out failures in education. In fact, if one looks at various curriculum, teacher training, and other education programs, it is virtually impossible to find any project which has been warranted an outright failure. But there is a great deal to be learned from failure. In the field of medicine, for example, most hospitals have something called a "tissue team". That is a group of pathologists who examine every patient who has died in the hospital and attempt to discover the cause of death. Physicians tell us that they literally learn more from their failures than they do from their successes.

One of the important functions of documentation in education, where the continuation of a project is concerned, should be the discontinuation of a project when it is no longer functioning. That is a very difficult thing to accept. Of course the more positive side is that, very often in the course of a project, we discover through documentation that it is time to expand a project. That is another important use of documentation.

Other Uses of Documentation

Finally in this regard, many programs seem to develop new ideas which are transportable, new techniques which can be maximized and used elsewhere. Unfortunately, those advances very often tend to be lost in the shuffle because, by the time the project is completed, much of what should have been documented about that process is lost.

Documentation can also be used for program modification. Here we come to a serious educational problem. All of the great new ideas in education over recent years seem very largely to have dealt with the notion of accountability. The concept of accountability as it is used in education today has been borrowed from a business and industrial context, where efficiency is defined as reaching objectives or as producing a product with

the least possible commitment of resources. The spread between resource commitment and final product is called profit, and committing fewer resources means increasing profits.

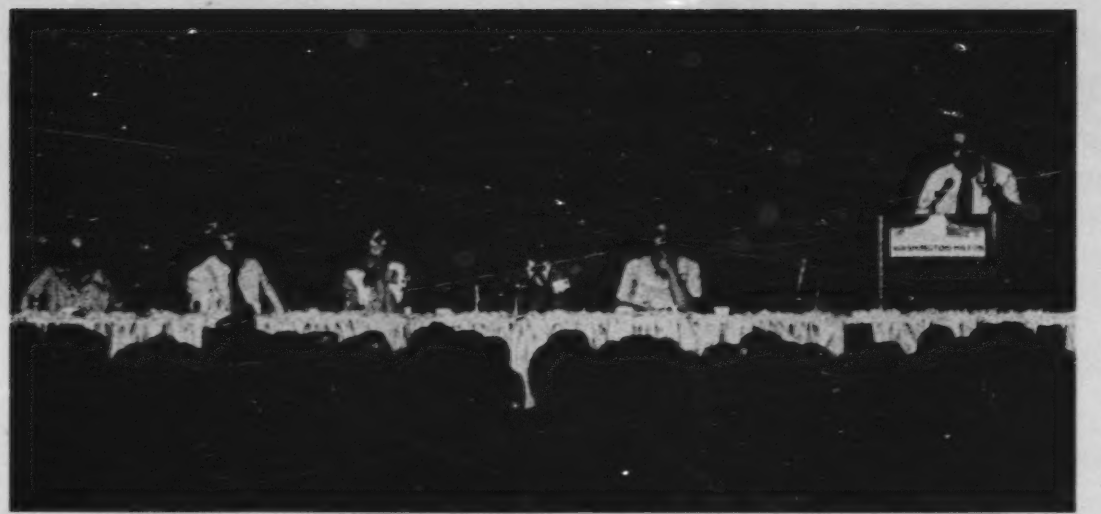
I question whether that is a valid and valuable idea in education. I don't believe we should deal with efficiency; our essential notion is effectiveness. That differs from efficiency; it may mean committing far more resources in some situations than are called for in others. Thus, measuring efficiency—a managerial term—is not appropriate in education. Instead, we need to modify programs and to do so on the basis of documentation. Likewise, we must keep accurate records on modifications—again to document.

Rallying Support for Programs

We have to speak candidly about another purpose of documentation: To rally support for a project when it is time for reapplication or when it is time to portray and demonstrate the project. That is a very valid use of documentation. It requires a good deal of time to develop a system that is candid as well as supportive of the project. There is a converse purpose for documentation—to sometimes rally opposition to a project, and that should also be taken into consideration.

Realistic Programmatic Objectives

One of the great mistakes we make—and one of the things we can avoid by adequate documentation—is to set objectives which are unrealistic. We frequently encounter objectives such as, "We are going to increase reading skills by one grade level in one year." Not that that is impossible. Very often, however, we attempt to deal with objectives so global that we simply cannot attain them. President Kennedy's statement that, "By 1970, we will have a man on the moon," represented a very clear, very concise behavioral objective. By the year 1970, we would either have a man on the moon, or we would not. Consequently, NASA and other government



agencies were able to develop adequate procedures for achieving that objective.

At about the same time, the then United States Commissioner of Education, taking a lesson from President Kennedy, said, "By the year 1970, all children in the United States will read at grade level." He then went back to his office, and was met by the old-timers, who said in horror, "You can't say that—it's impossible to say that!" After a series of modifications, six months later, the goal was stated as, "By the year 1970, all children in the United States will read better." That is a very global notion, and progress toward it is impossible to record and to document. Beyond that, I would make the point that documentation is essentially for the good of the *program*, as well as for the good of the evaluator.

Participating, Observing, Valuing

To me, the final use for documentation is the most interesting. I am an anthropologist, and consequently think that the only adequate way of describing what takes place in any social situation, in any behavioral situation, is to be there, to be a participant, to observe continuously, and to become intellectually and emotionally involved in what takes place. The notion of complete objectivity is impossible for any of us who are assigned the task of evaluating a process. We must be guarded and careful about how we let our enthusiasm (or lack of it) affect us, but it is essential to keep in mind that the word "evaluation" comes from the word "value", and that values require judgment on our part. The final purpose of documentation, then, is to allow us continuously throughout the project—and at the end of the project—to look at our experience as evaluators in tandem with the program experience. That can yield documentation which is an accurate record of what took place. Our feelings about what takes place are just as important.

Modes of Analysis

The purposes for documentation which I have described require four different modes of analysis. First, evaluation of educational programs requires that we take a *field perspective,* rather than a laboratory perspective. A great deal of educational research is essentially a process by which we vindicate or validate pre-existing ideas about what should occur in programs. It is absolutely essential that we as evaluators, while we should be objective, should be involved in the process and give the kind of feedback that allows individuals to change their programs—and even to change their objectives, wherever appropriate and possible. I do not think there is any lack of scientific rigor in such a position. Documentors can take a field-oriented approach; they can spend a great deal of time observing and still make objective value judgments. That requires a great deal of training and a great deal of careful analytic work, but it can be done.

A second analytical technique which is absolutely essential to documentation is *adequate observation,* and, far more important than the observation itself, the recording of those observations continuously—and immediately after the observation has been made. Those involved in documentation need to spend some time immediately after an event in setting down their observations—in addition to using tape recorders to put material on tape, so that it is available later. This should be stressed because, very often, documentation—rather than being an accurate daily account of what takes place—ends up being an historical reconstruction of what someone *thinks* took place.

Questionnaires and Surveys

A third, and very important, technique for documentation is the use of questionnaires, surveys, and other devices which are aimed at recording perceptions, ideas, questions, concerns, trepidations—everything that took place in the project—from as many staff members as possible. That means it is also important to keep in mind that documentation is a laborious process. There is simply no way in which one can describe documentation as anything but a great deal of work, work which has an important payoff at the end.

Fourth, and finally, it is important to look at documentation as a means of establishing the best techniques for program evaluation and program development. That means the development of a series of case histories or clinical studies which can be used to look at the same processes in education in a number of different settings. One of the great recurring problems in educational efforts is the tendency for projects not to inform or reinforce each other. Consequently, each project, each new program, tends to begin as if nothing had ever occurred before. As a result, it is impossible to make any kind of judgments based upon more than one case.

Let me give you an example of case histories from anthropology. Anthropologists use a technique called ethnography as a means of describing events and interactions which take place. Ethnography is simply and openly descriptive. Every anthropologist must spend a number of years in his apprenticeship describing what takes place in some ongoing social situation. Increasingly, anthropologists are developing clinical records of what takes place in American educational systems. These records can then be looked at comparatively in a process called ethnology. A series of ethnographies, looked at collectively, help the anthropologist to deduce what seems to be true in every situation, in every site. That technique also makes it possible to decide what seems to be idiosyncratic or special to a particular site. This approach to documentation has the greatest payoff in the future for educational research and, consequently, for educational practice.

Documentation and Value Judgments

Let me conclude by pointing out the essential underlying issue in documentation: Documentation is for making value judgments. There is no way to avoid it. What documentation does, however, is to allow educators and other professionals to underwrite and to validate what is taking place in a particular program. Values are of tremendous importance. Documentation should not be viewed as simply a matter of keeping sterile quantitative records. The qualitative issues—the values that are inherent in a program—can only be described through adequate documentation. That is our responsibility—and I believe it is our promise.

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Varied Approaches to Documentation

James Burry

The Need for Varied Approaches

Let me begin this discussion of approaches to documentation by pointing out that varied approaches are essential if the process is to be meaningful to its audience and to those within a project. The distinction, for example, between formative and summative approaches to documentation and evaluation is extremely important. Most of the large-scale evaluations at the national level, certainly from my viewpoint, have been absolute disasters. They have not provided any information to help policy-makers at the national level; I do not believe they have helped anyone in the educational profession—administrators, teachers, curriculum developers, or other evaluators—and I do not believe they have helped the ultimate clients, students in the classroom.

The main reason for that failure to make a difference is the tendency for large-scale evaluations to conform to the relatively narrow and unvaried models and points of view that have traditionally governed most large-scale national evaluations. Those evaluations have been almost totally summative, although they may have paid some lip service to formative monitoring purposes. Likewise, they have been guided by one major approach or model of evaluation (with some variation). That guiding model has been almost exclusively drawn from the experimental paradigm. Relationships of quantity to data collection and quantity to data are *the* methods of evaluation excellence, regardless of the particular situation that the evaluation is supposedly serving. That posture, in my view, is limited.

There is no single method which is uniformly appropriate for either documentation or evaluation. Recent trends in approaches to evaluation and documentation are beginning to develop series of activities and concerns on a continuum. At one end of the continuum is the traditional approach, which makes use of the experimental paradigm. At the other end of the continuum are more naturalistic approaches to documentation and evaluation. One such naturalistic approach is the ethnographic technique. The point of establishing such a continuum is this: Either end of the scale, as well as the many intervening points on that continuum, can be appropriate for documentation and evaluation.

The Need for Appropriate Approaches

An appropriate documentation system, one which is sensitive to some of the dynamic objectives of the Teacher Corps, for example, probably should represent several points of view on the quantitative continuum. Appropriateness of a given approach will depend upon context—the project, its needs, its value system, its objectives, and other such factors. Those factors should determine the documentation system to be used; the approach should not be some predetermined system that is enjoying a current vogue. The use of such a multiple data base which represents different philosophies and different values will likely yield information which will allow us triangulation, so that identifiable critical events will yield a more accurate portrayal, a more sensible monitoring, of the system. In that way, we not only know the level of accomplishment of outcomes (and that is important to know), but we also understand those processes, people, resources, and events that caused us to reach those outcomes—or to not reach them—or to reach some different and unanticipated outcomes.

With that in mind, I would point out one of the troublesome things about evaluation or documentation reports: They sometimes make it very difficult to get an idea of what events or processes led to the outcome which is described. In such cases, potential replicators of a project really have little useful guidance. The monitoring and portrayal functions of documentation can help to overcome that shortcoming.

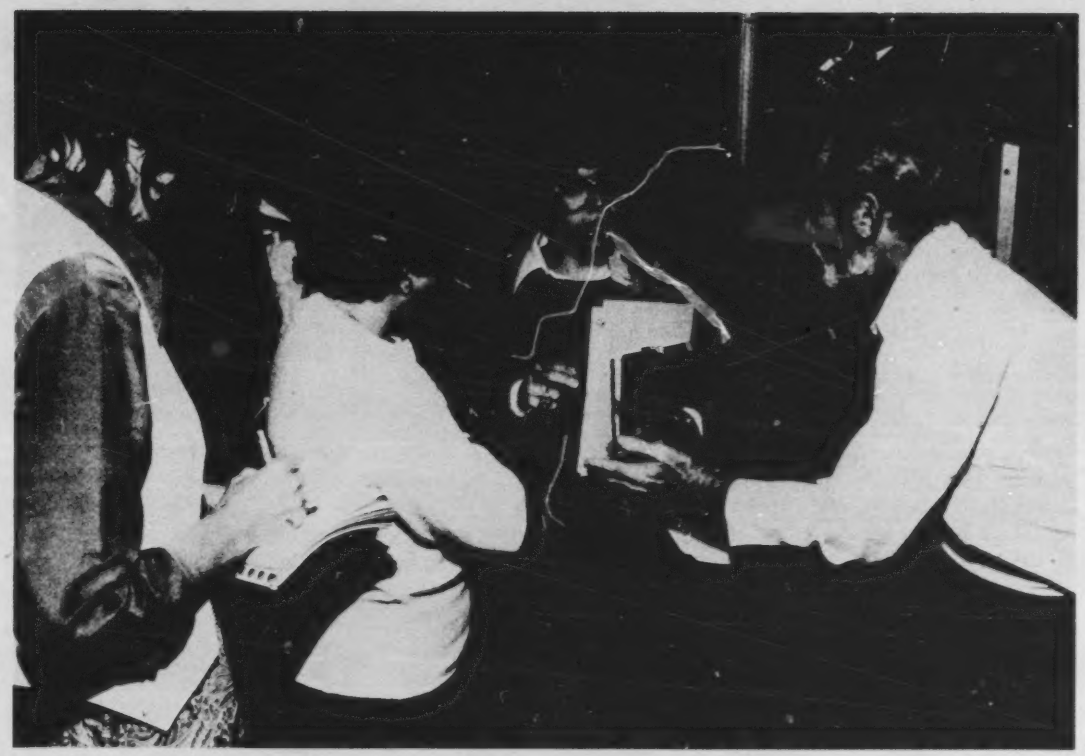
Issues in Documentation Design

Before designing a documentation system, we should consider issues which will help us to avoid unproductive systems. First, we should ask what audiences we, as documentors, are trying to help. Some audiences are obvious. The people we work with in the project should be addressed, as should other teachers in the school system who may not be in the project, but who may want to know something about what is going on. Students, in some situations, also should be an audience of documentation. Other professionals outside our system should also be addressed. Documentation should serve multiple audiences because the chances are that different audiences are going to have different conceptions about what constitutes a good documentation system.

It is thus absolutely vital that documentors both identify their audiences and determine what each group considers credible information. An external audience, for example, may be concerned with quantitative data; if documentors think such data are appropriate to a project, it may be advisable to keep outsiders and credibility questions in mind as they address multiple audiences.

Issue Two: Demonstration

A second guide to selecting a documentation system reflects the fact that a lot of people are beginning to look toward the Teacher Corps for demonstration leadership. They see some positive approaches emerging, and will want to learn more. Documentors should thus think about the needs of people both within the Teacher Corps and, for demonstration purposes, those from outside. Those outside of the Teacher Corps may want to look at project documentation so that they can use Teacher Corps experience in replication efforts. They may want to adapt some Teacher Corps strategies to meet some of their own local needs. There is thus



The difference between observing and measuring seems small when observation involves the heat of the day and measurement is the column of mercury in a thermometer. That is because we can look at the thermometer and correlate its reading with our senses. Unfortunately, most of our measurements in educational evaluation do not provide the luxury of correspondence between measurement and experience.
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another kind of audience to consider when projects begin to mount a demonstration effort.

Issue Three: Resources

Other factors which will guide the selection of documentation approaches include the time and other resources available to a project. It has been suggested that a good documentation can be done in two or three or four hours a week. That may be true in some situations, but I think it will take much more time than that in most cases. At any rate, the time available for documentation will to some extent guide the techniques that are chosen for the documentation effort.

Issue Four: The Nature of the Project

Finally, the nature of the project to be documented will help to determine the documentation system which best fits the project context, with its unique needs, value system, anxieties, fears, and resources. An external model that supposedly serves the needs of any project will, quite simply, not do.

What Information Does Documentation Provide?

What kinds of information should documentation provide? First, a documentation system should deliver some very basic information. This encompasses such data as the kinds of people involved in a project. Who are the staff members? What are their backgrounds? Who are the students we're serving? Further, what are the project resource levels? Those are just a few examples; such contextual information is somewhat easy to gather in a documentation system.

The second major component of documentation deals with "critical activities", although that is a dangerous term, since it may suggest that projects can always plan for such activities. That is not necessarily true. At any rate, such events and activities should be portrayed in documentation. That is extremely difficult—but extremely important.

Documentation Techniques

Both types of information require that documentors use the most appropriate techniques available. One such technique is the use of staff reports or staff-generated information. There are three essential means of gathering such information. First, a documentor might ask staff members—or any other participants—to provide short, written, narrative descriptions of the project from their standpoint. Such descriptions can be done on an ongoing basis, which will yield interesting insights and information. Staff-based descriptions can also be gathered at crucial junctures, as well as at the end of a project, when staff members and others are asked to reflect on their past experiences. Some audiences may not find that retrospective reconstruction to be credible, but that will depend upon the audience of a documentation effort. Obviously, there is no reason why a good documentation system cannot use both of these approaches.

Informal questionnaires can also be used to gather information from staff members and others. Like the narrative description, questionnaires can be structured or unstructured—or some combination of the two. These kinds of documentation techniques are very useful in gathering basic information; they, obviously, also have some use in gathering information on critical project activities.

Record-Keeping Systems

A second means of documentation is the use of a record-keeping system. Some projects tend to let such systems evolve more or less naturally. All minutes and other materials do form a useful body of documentation. But there is another, more systematic, approach to documentation by record-keeping. Record-keeping systems can be designed to be representative of different points of view, so that there is a broad data base which can aid efforts to triangulate project factors leading to or obstructing desired outcomes.

Direct Observation

A third means of documenting is direct observation. For external purposes, direct observation generally has a high level of credibility. Record-keeping systems are perhaps the second most credible approach; least credible documentation is that drawn from written reports, interviews, and questionnaires of project staff members. Its importance, however, is not to be underestimated.

There are two or three basic—and fairly obvious—points of view which will color documentation information. The first such point of view leans toward consistency with the project plan. Such an approach would primarily consider whether the project was implemented as it was planned. One major drawback to that documentation point of view is that it leaves little room for gathering insightful information on unintended outcomes.

A second point of view does allow for unintended outcomes. That involves planning naturalistic approaches to documentation which are not based on preconceptions or biases; that approach simply attempts to learn and record what of importance is going on in the project. A third point of view, which is unfortunately rather costly and time consuming—but it could be absolutely crucial for Teacher Corps projects—attempts to develop consistency of project efforts with theory. Many outcomes of Teacher Corps projects have strong theoretical or philosophical underpinnings; thus, one other possible approach to documentation is to determine whether project plans and operations are consistent with those theories and philosophies that underlie project designs.

It is, of course, project plans and operations which local project staffs are charged with recording. The varied approaches described here will be important tools in that documentation effort. It will be essential to keep the varied viewpoints and approaches in mind as documentors undertake their work in the field. Above all, however, it will be important that projects collaboratively develop documentation and communication systems which reflect the unique contexts and intended outcomes of the local effort. Such collaborative documentation—pursued along the lines suggested here and elsewhere—can help to accomplish the Teacher Corps goals for the improvement of school climate, teacher preparation systems, and, ultimately, the demonstration of those improvements to others.

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A Hard Lesson Learned: A Review of Teacher Corps Project Evaluation Designs

Robert Bush

The Survey of Project Evaluation Designs

The Teacher Corps, as a result of its desire to learn more about the evaluation processes being used in Cycle XI and XII projects, supported a study of those processes. Teacher Corps—Washington also wanted to know what course field personnel could suggest for future evaluations of projects. We began the study by securing evaluation-related documents from all the projects. We also circulated a brief questionnaire, made some telephone interviews, and visited a few sites. That process yielded some clear impressions, which I will share here. I would offer one caveat, however: My conclusions may be quite wrong, and I urge those interested to look at the data for themselves.

A Reassuring Conclusion

My first observation is that evaluation in the field is much, much better than was feared by those in Washington, and even by those in the field. The study report is reassuring. As a result, I conclude that we are fairly schizophrenic about evaluation. On the negative side, we feel it is a burden; we are fearful and frustrated, and our attitudes toward evaluation tend to be somewhat negative. On the other hand, the people in the field who are working in evaluation are aware and quite knowledgeable about the wide spectrum of theoretical issues of evaluation. For the most part, they are operating detailed and effective programs of evaluation with sophisticated plans. Projects are using the results of their evaluations and report that it is helpful in efforts to refine and change practices. Evaluation is providing feedback for continuous fine tuning.

Why Evaluate?

Until very recently, evaluation was structured according to intended outcomes, or objectives, and their relationship to actual accomplishments. Now, however, the field is expanding; we have the full spectrum of evaluation, from those that are primarily politically inspired, through those that are highly technical and built around comprehensive, detailed sets of behavioral objectives. Beyond those types of evaluation, we have completely subjective, goal-free evaluations that are almost intuitive.

Within that context, evaluators continue to raise the question, Why evaluate? Some evaluators evaluate for summative purposes. Others do it for formative purposes. And, of course, many evaluators evaluate for both purposes. Four-fifths of the projects indicate that they evaluate primarily for formative purposes.

Who Should Evaluate?

Second, our study asked, Who should evaluate? Insiders? Outsiders? Both? The projects answered, for the most part, Insiders. Some projects go outside and get consultants to evaluate, but most of the project evaluations are being done by project staff members; in fact, of the projects responding to our inquiry, four-fifths rely mainly on inside evaluators. Fifty percent (and slightly more in the Twelfth Cycle than in the Eleventh Cycle) have used some kind of outside help in their evaluations.

What to Evaluate?

What do projects evaluate? Do they evaluate processes or products, or both? None of the projects responding attended to products only. About half of the projects were concerned primarily with processes; the other half were doing both process and product evaluation.

The study also considered what factors projects consider when examining their success. Do they look primarily at teacher growth? Pupil growth? Pupil learning? Organizational change? Instructional materials? Nine-tenths of the responding projects use evaluation to evaluate their planning and to make new plans. Two-thirds consider Intern growth when assessing success. Two-thirds of the projects look at how people feel about the project. Only one-third look at the skill of the project staff

itself, and only one-third are concerned very much with pupil growth and development. Two-thirds of the projects emphasize organizational change. Only one-third are concerned with evaluating instructional materials. Those are extremely interesting findings, and they say something about projects' perceived *raison d'etre.*

How to Evaluate?

Next, we asked projects how they evaluate. Are evaluations mainly subjective or mainly objective? Are evaluations goal-oriented or goal-free? Projects answered that they do both objective and subjective evaluations. Evaluators in general are now arguing the relative merits of goal-free evaluation, but that has not impacted upon Teacher Corps projects. Projects have, however, tended to have elaborate sets of objectives and used the discrepancy model of evaluation. Some schemes of objectives are much more elaborate than others, but many, many projects have page-after-page of objectives. In case after case, we found that very elaborate discrepancy evaluation schemes which were proposed were severely scaled down when it came time to do them. In general, projects did not carry out what their proposals said they were going to do in the area of evaluation.

When to Evaluate?

The study also asked projects when they evaluate. At the end of the project, periodically, or continuously? Evaluation people complain that everybody thinks of evaluation too late; they say it should be done continuously; it should start even before the project and continue after it ends. No Teacher Corps projects are evaluating only at the end, contrary to many opinions that have been voiced. Rather, projects tend to evaluate periodically or continuously.

What Does Evaluation Cost?

The study also attempted to determine the cost of evaluation in projects. That was a tough question because, in many cases, that cost is so embedded in other costs that projects cannot determine their evaluation costs. To the extent that it could be determined, it seems that the mean of the amount spent on evaluation is around 12 thousand dollars. The median, however, is nearer to six or seven thousand dollars, since a few projects spend 35, 40, or 50 thousand dollars on evaluation. As nearly as we could estimate, for the most part, between five and ten percent of projects' total energies and resources are given over to evaluation.

Areas of Difficulty

We also asked projects about their frustrations and difficulties. First, they said they feel oversurveyed and caught in the paper chase; that's the dominant theme. Projects have difficulty, they say, finding evaluators who have real competence and a good gut feeling for what projects are doing. Project participants, projects say, are resistant to evaluation. Projects' evaluation schemes are too elaborate, too complex, and too burdensome. Projects have trouble getting evaluations started; evaluation takes too much of projects' time and resources, resources that projects feel they ought to be devoting to areas that are more important. That is a very quick summary of a body of complex and rich data concerning field frustrations with evaluation.

Perhaps the most important problem in Teacher Corps local evaluations is projects' attempts to use elaborate theoretical evaluation models that outstrip available resources and even go beyond project needs. That problem is based on the belief that projects must have elaborate management-by-objectives, performance-based discrepancy model evaluations. Why are projects doing that? Probably not because they like it. Because it is the best thing available? Because some persuasive merchant, or a person in a high place, has sold it to projects? I don't know. Whatever the problem, I think projects ought to stop developing such elaborate evaluation schemes.

The Problem of Student Achievement

A second problem: What about this troublesome area of student achievement which, eventually, in the local school board or in the halls of Congress, becomes a bottom-line indicator of success or failure? The Teacher Corps has not tackled that problem. Evaluation of student achievement can be done, and can be helpful. It requires much more attention and thought than projects have given it, in my judgment.

Evaluation Isn't Popular

The other major problem is projects' continuing tendency to grumble about evaluation. It is not very popular. That attitude is not peculiar to the Teacher Corps; it is prevalent throughout education. The matter of one person or group evaluating another person or group is touchy business; grading is touchy in the classroom; accreditation is touchy in teacher education. The process is difficult. It *is* necessary, however; it is going to stay with us, and it is important that we do it as well as we can. Projects would have a good start if they just did not feel they must evaluate everything, if they selected those things that seem most important to their own local projects. As professionals, we have an obligation to continuously gather data, to do evaluation research. The data we gather help us know how well we are doing so that we can correct our on-going procedures. If we can use that kind of strategy, evaluation will not be irrelevant, tacked on, or done *to* us. It will become something we are doing ourselves, something that is integral to our project.

Robert Bush is a Professor Emeritus at Stanford University. The study reported on here was conducted by Bush and Bruce Joyce.

It would be fairly easy—and relatively successful—in the short run to establish a Teacher Corps community council which is made up of the old-boy network, the long-established community leaders who are already recognized and active. More sophisticated and experienced people probably offer the greatest promise of providing short-range success. But that strategy is dysfunctional in the long run. If you see one of the purposes of this program as being to develop individuals as well as processes and products, then community council members and the community they represent must be given an opportunity to learn, to grow, and to develop. To limit the community council opportunity to those who are already established and experienced is to miss one of the great potentials of the Teacher Corps.

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Documentation As A Management Tool

Francis Ianni

Two Uses of Documentation for Management

Documentation as a management tool is essentially a tool, and not an end in itself. There are two separate uses of documentation in management: a) bureaucratic uses such as managerial, fiscal, logistical, organizing, and controlling functions; and b) the use of documentation as a means of recording and reporting on problems and issues in the social organization of projects.

In the latter vein, I have, over the last eight years, been involved with a project supported by the National Institute of Education and the Ford Foundation. We have studied a series of high schools throughout the United States, and have first addressed the question, How are schools organized as social, rather than formal, organizations? Essentially we found what we all already know: That a person's formal role in the school can be quite different from what his or her actual tasks and functions would suggest. We have identified emergent roles, some of which are now in the literature. Those include roles like that of gatekeeper, most often the principal's secretary, people who have a great deal of control over what takes place in the school organization—but who have very little actual status.

Another role—and this is particularly important in documentation—is filled by what we call "ritual specialists". These tend to be teachers and others who have been in the school for a long time, and who can recite everything that has ever happened in that school, using the proper educational jargon of the moment. Let me offer an example of ritual specialists from one of our own documentations. A group of Black parents was protesting the fact that their children were being tracked in the school. A ritual specialist, who happened to be an Anglo who had been in that school for the last 20 years, stood up and said to the audience: "We don't use tracking here anymore. We use streaming."

The audience asked, "What's streaming?" The ritual specialist responded, "We put kids of one type of ability in one group and other kids in another." The possibilities for using documentation as a management tool in such a situation are evident.

Social Problems and Processes

Very often in the process of documentation for managerial purposes, we tend to miss areas which have their own importance. Some description of the project's hierarchical organization, for example, is important in documentation. But it is equally important for management purposes to look at changes and procedures in the social organization of a project. It is important in documentation to consider the kinds of moral problems that come up in an organization and the effect of those problems on project management and outcomes.

Decision-making processes, too, are important to document. Decision-making as a process in education is very poorly understood. One of our major, but erroneous, concepts of decision-making is to make problems the basis for decision-making. When a situation becomes critical—and not until then—we decide it is time to make a change.

Our educational problems, of course, are mammoth, and are not easy to deal with as separate entities. But, more importantly, we are expected to resolve most of the social problems that exist in the United States. The solution to any given social problem is to institute a new course in the high school curriculum. When we had difficulty with young people and automobiles, we introduced driver's education. When we had trouble with drugs, we introduced drug education. And, of course, when we have problems with ethical judgments, we begin to look toward values clarification and moral education. But we do not develop those new curricula until we are faced with the problem.

Such problems are certainly important, but the use of documentation for decision-making can provide feed-in, as well as feedback, to decision-making processes, which should be continuous and

should involve far more than the management of a project. The perspective which continuous documentation offers makes it possible to make decisions on the basis of factors other than crisis.

One of the major areas of the decision-making process in which documentation has a role is behavior changes, which have great importance in the management of a program. Realistically, everything we do in education is aimed at some means of changing behavior. The processes of documenting those changes and associating those changes with management procedures are very important. The problem for documentors is, How do we go about finding these changes? That is the second major step in documentation as it relates to management: Looking at effectiveness, as well as efficiency, in program development.

Documentation of Effectiveness

There are techniques for contemporary documentation of effectiveness. One is called "event analysis", which is particularly important. Event analysis deals with how we go about choosing the unit of analysis for documentation or evaluation. For example, when we started our major study of high schools, we thought there were two kinds of people in high school: adults and youngsters. That seemed to make sense to us.

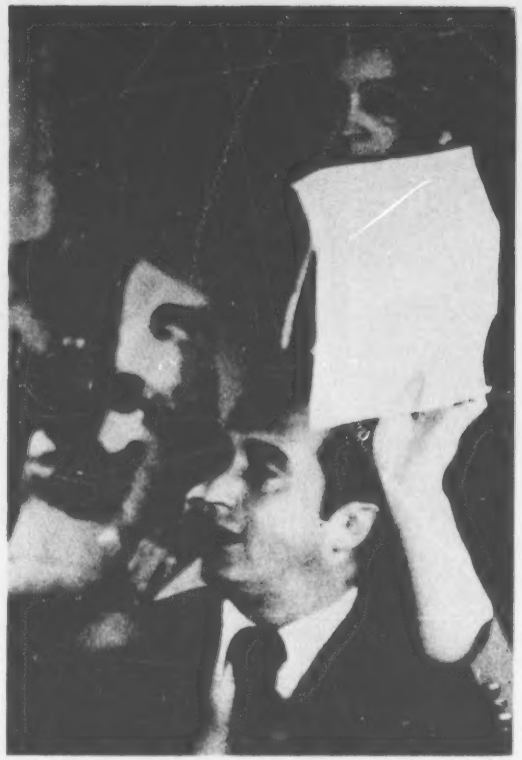
What we discovered, however, was that, very often, the mediation points between adults and youngsters blend together. There are students in schools who literally have more power, more control than some teachers. We studied a school in Upstate New York, for example, where one of the most powerful individuals in the school was the tuba player in the school band. He was the only tuba player for 15 miles in any direction; consequently, he was of critical importance to the school.

There are three major components of the process of deciding the degree of status allotted to students. The first of those components is *sorting*, a process in which students are sorted into various groups and into which students sort themselves. Documentation of the sorting process is extremely important in terms of the life expectations and life experience of students in schools. It is equally important for the management of a school or project. For example, we followed and documented the assistant principal's interaction with students in a suburban school over a period of two weeks. We found that he behaved very differently toward different students—and his behavior was based upon the sorting process. We saw him in a hallway encounter with the chief jock in the school. The student was the captain of the football and basketball teams, and the son of the superintendent of schools. You just can't have much more going for you in that school. The assistant principal walked up to the student, nudged him in the ribs, and said, "Billy, come on, get back to class," and walked away. Another student, a well-known freak, was in the hall one time on his way to the infirmary. He was stopped by the assistant principal and told to go to the principal's office—without being given an opportunity to make any kind of response.

We saw the same phenomenon in an urban school. Black students were never stopped in the hall and never given any type of criticism by the assistant principal; he feared the potential violence. As a result, no corrective behavior took place. Documentation of the sorting process obviously offers a great deal of insight into what happens in the schools.

Documenting Context

The second important area in documentation of effectiveness is the context within which programs take place. We call this "territoriality". We discovered that there are places in schools where certain types of behavior are permitted which are not permitted elsewhere. What is permitted very much relates to the context of events. The description of context is thus a very important part of the



managerial aspects of documentation, because it is crucial to know what takes place and where.

Cost-Effectiveness

A third type of managerial documentation is related to cost-effectiveness. There is no way to avoid that aspect of educational programs. Cost-effectiveness is an important aspect of any program, particularly if that program is to have any effect outside the particular program setting. Documentation of a program's setting, its means of operation, and its degree of cost-effectiveness can be tremendously important elsewhere.

Finally, there is the most difficult, and probably most important, area of documentation for management purposes: Descriptions of the values and changing values of a system. There are three types of values that operate in educational systems. First, every educational system has its own particular set of ideologies. Some such ideologies are held in common with other settings, and some are particular to a given school. Let me give you an example of ideologies. Our recent study of school violence in New York City found that the seventh grade is the most violent grade in any school system—that is true in rural as well as urban areas. One reason for that is that students are suddenly given new freedom in the seventh grade. But that is not the major cause of violence in the seventh grade.

The major causes of violence at that grade are the series of changes that take place in youngsters at that age—combined with our ideology where youngsters are concerned. In New York City, seventh-grade students, no matter how violent, cannot be expelled from school. They can be suspended, but because they are under the school-leaving age, they must be taken back into school. They can be transferred to another school; however, the school system's regulations state very clearly that the receiving school cannot be told why the student has been transferred.

Our study followed and very carefully documented the case of a youngster who had a habit of slashing other youngsters with razor blades. He was transferred to three different schools. The receiving schools were not formally told why he was transferred. But—and here is the important point about documenting the social and informal aspects of school management—school principals have their own problems, and consequently they informally agree on how to let a new school know about a child's problem. In the case of this student, the principal of the sending school would call the principal of the receiving school and say, "I'm sending you a Fulbright scholar." The receiving principal understood exactly what the student's problem was.

That is an informal way of getting around the formal requirement that you cannot tell the reasons for transferral. There are positive aspects to that: It prepares the new school for the student. There are also negative aspects to that: It labels the student. The most important point is this: Unless you are there—unless you document what takes place there—you simply cannot describe the informal processes that are involved in a school's operations or its ideologies.

Personal and Professional Values

A second set of values is related to personal or professional values, the values which individuals carry with them into a program. Some of those values are common to many individuals as professional values; some values are very personal beliefs which individuals interject into the program. It is our responsibility as documentors to include personal and professional values in the description of a program. Such values bring up the very important question of confidentiality and privacy in documentation. We have tried every available technique to ensure confidentiality. We have done a number of studies in the criminal justice system, where identifying individuals can sometimes have even more serious effects on the documentor than

Anyone who is documenting a project event should certainly inform all those involved that the process of documentation is going on. There is something fundamentally immoral about a person taking process notes without those he or she is writing about being aware that documentation is occurring. Besides being immoral, that will cause problems in the project. But the first consideration—the questions of ethics and morality—are certainly paramount to whatever problems may arise from surreptitious documentation.

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on the person being documented. In those studies, we have attempted to give pseudonyms wherever possible, always remaining faithful to the sex, national origin, and general age of the person involved. But how do you give a pseudonym to a school principal, much less mask the role? There is only one principal, and it is virtually impossible to make that person anonymous. That task is difficult for any documentor, but it is extremely important.

Finally, after ideologies and individual values, there are the political values of the agency which is sponsoring the project. That is a very difficult thing to talk about because we tend to shy away from talk about politics in education. But political values are inherent in educational programs financed by any level of government, and documentors must be aware of those values as a part of the context within which documentation takes place.

How Do You Do It?

If all of the documentation features I have described are problematic, how do you go about setting up a documentation system for use in the management process in any program? There are a number of things that have to be done. First, it is important, as far as the documentation is concerned, to answer and be able to document the question, Are the objectives for this program valid? Those objectives must be considered not only in their operation in the program, but also in a much larger context. It is not enough to study the school; a documentor must know about the system in which that school is embedded. It is not enough to know about that school system; a documentor must know about the state program within which it is embedded. It is not enough to know about that state program; a documentor must know something about the political implications of the government which is sponsoring the program. The question is essentially one of contextual validity.

The second thing that documentors must pay attention to is program content. For example, are program materials relevant only for that particular system, and consequently useless elsewhere? How relevant is the content? Content is a managerial decision as well as a program decision, and documentation for managerial purposes can help to make content relevant.

Control of Operations and Personnel Practices

Third, documentors should ask, How much control does the program staff have over what actually takes place in the program? That is one of the critical issues in management which is often missed. We assume that an organization has control over what takes place in its operations, but realistically the organization does not have such control.

Fourth, documentors should consider personnel practices. Documentation is particularly important in that area because it indicates how program managers' and staff members' experience, sorting, territoriality, and rule-making and rule-breaking behavior can affect the program. We tend to assume that programs operate in the absence of people, but education is essentially people-oriented—people's ideologies and practices are particularly important.

There are three aspects of personnel practices that must be considered in documentation. First, documentors should describe the formal role requirements established by the program. Of course, it is far more important to describe the actual on-site role behavior of individuals in their roles. Second, it is always important to identify power-network relationships within any decision-making setting. One technique of that process is to consider what is behind an event by tracing the network of individuals who are involved in that event, and then interviewing each person separately to learn about his/her interpretation and reaction to the event, as well as decisions which he/she makes based on that event. Some very, very surprising discrepancies will emerge after talking to fifteen people who saw the same action, but through different eyes.

It is also important in this area to describe interactions between and among individuals who are part of the personnel network. A great deal of what happens in a project takes place outside of the organization, after office hours. Understanding those informal systems is at least as important as what happens formally. Of course, the task of tracking and documenting the informal system—like other documentation functions—is difficult, but not impossible. That is why it is important that documentors of a program be a part of that program and actually be present in that program. Finally, it is important in looking at personnel practices within any organization to trace the history of staff development within that program. That will describe the ongoing organizational process in a way which is particularly important in education programs.

Delayed Effects

One of our major tasks in education is to assess the effectiveness of programs whose real effects do not come to the fore until long after the program itself is completed. In many cases, cognitive gains, affective gains, and individual growth do not blossom until after people leave the program. The documentation process thus should also be concerned with developing techniques for keeping in touch with personnel, and hopefully with clients, once the program is over. That is one of the least developed areas in evaluation, and one which requires a great deal of attention so that educators can consider long-term gains as part of the evaluation and documentation process.

Conclusion

Let me conclude by describing a number of important issues which are still unresolved in the area of the managerial use of documentation. First, most documentation for managerial purposes is done with personnel evaluation in mind—and personnel evaluation varies according to the values and positions of those who make up management systems. Documentation for personnel evaluation purposes, then, must take individual values and positions into account. Second, we have far more documentation of adults and adult lives than we do of youngsters and their lives. One of the things we have attempted to do is to train youngsters in programs to keep daily journals. They happen to enjoy that, it's a good idea, and we gain many insights from youngsters' journals. Wherever possible, we also give youngsters access to photographic and recording equipment so that they can record reactions as they take place. That can be extremely effective. In fact, the major problem of documentation is that much of what we do in documentation is meant for specific audiences, and very often not for the people who need it most. Documentation should be available for teachers, but our final responsibility is to youngsters. We have to document their lives and the quality of those lives. That is, after all, the most important aspect of management.

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Start-Up and Entry Problems of New Teacher Corps Projects

John Hansen

Findings Based on Documentation

This discussion of the problems of start-up and entry of new Teacher Corps projects is largely based on a research study conducted by Johnnie Mills, who was a participant-observer in our Teacher Corps project. She observed our project from the time we started negotiating with our local education agency and community until the end of the first year of operation, the time that spans start-up and entry phases. Like all good documentors, she watched us as we negotiated, as we talked to teachers, as we worked with professors, as we worked with kids, as we fought our battles, and as we licked our wounds. Mills suggested that there are ten phenomena which occur during start-up and entry which directly relate to the success of the entry process.

Knowledge and Support

The first of those factors is the extent to which the university professors are aware of the Teacher Corps project and its design and purposes. All staff members should read the project proposal so that entry problems can be minimized, along with the resistance which so often accompanies lack of knowledge.

Second, the success of getting a project started is directly related to the dean's position on project-related issues. The extent to which the dean supports a project has a direct relationship to the success of project entry into the permanent system at the institution of higher education as well as at the school or school district level.

Rewards and Personal Behavior

Third, the success of entry is directly related to the rewards that are likely to accrue as a result of having a project in a department, a division, or a college. Rewards include the usual incentives of travel and perhaps more and better instructional materials, but also the rewards of having better students, the rewards of having more competent people on the staff, and the rewards of directly or indirectly improving the organizational health of the institution.

Fourth, the success of entry is directly related to the extent to which professors see the project as interfering with their accustomed personal behavior. We found little concern about issues such as having to teach differently or having to reexamine personal values. But there was considerable concern about where and when teaching would be done—in the field after school hours, for example. Now, in the second project year, the former concerns are beginning to surface. The initial concerns, in summary, were related to lifestyle, not professional behavior.

Traditions

Fifth, the success of entry is directly related to the project's respect for those traditions of each institution and organization it will be working with. Projects must respect the institutional holy cows, the things that—personally, socially, professionally, academically—everyone respects in the institution. If such respect is not possible, governing structures must plan strategies for dealing with divergence from these norms.

Sixth, the success of project entry depends upon how informal but influential sub-groups feel about the project. Projects must learn who the decision-makers are—or who decides who the decision-makers are. The success of a project will depend upon the extent to which influential people see the project as worthwhile.

Seventh, the success of entry is tied to the way the project conforms to, lives with, and operates in conjunction with the existing governance structure. Projects are a part of existing institutions, and therefore are expected to conform to the already-established governing structure. New and different people and practices do not always fit into the existing governing structure. Accommodations must be made. A project will start, enter, and become a part of the permanent system successfully in direct

proportion to the extent to which it is able to deal with, tolerate, work around, live with, and conform to the existing governance structure.

Cultural Differences

Eighth, the success of entry is directly related to the awareness and treatment of cultural differences that exist between project staff members and permanent staff members. The Teacher Corps staff will probably have more women and more minorities than the average college staff. The extent to which those differences are effectively dealt with will be directly related to the success of the project and its ability to become a part of the permanent organization.

Ninth, the success of entry is not determined by the number of times a number of institutional people do a number of things. The people who are involved may be involved because someone told them to get involved. They may be involved because they think the dean wants them to be involved. They may be involved because involvement might have an effect on their promotion or tenure. They may be involved because they can travel in connection with project activities. Involvement may have nothing to do with acceptance of project goals. The fact that regular members of the institution are involved is only a prerequisite to acceptance—it's not sufficient to determine the success of entry.

Finally, the success of entry is directly related to how well-managed a project is. Institutions expect projects to be well-managed, efficient, consistent, able to meet their commitments, and able to advise students—all in a way that is consistent with what is expected in the institution. Success will depend upon the degree to which a project meets those expectations.

Implications for the Dean

Those ten major findings have several implications for the dean of an institution which hosts a Teacher Corps project. First, the dean should make sure that the project is public. Project activities, intents, and limitations should be communicated to all staff members. Second, the Project Director more often than not was hired within the last year, or is probably a junior, nontenured faculty member who may not know the institutional norms, the system for getting things done, or who the influential people are. The dean probably does know those things and can help—or at least knows someone on the staff who can help.

Third, new staff members who administer Teacher Corps projects are probably not going to be included in the informal policy discussions where real decisions are made. A dean can involve those people and include them in those informal occasions where the basis of decisions is laid. Project administrators will also need help in dealing with the bureaucratic maze in the institution. The dean needs to help with the bureaucratic process.

Lasting Impact

The dean should use the Teacher Corps project for institutional capacity-building. The project is one of many resources at the dean's disposal and can help to improve teacher education at the institution. Deans need to use the project's resources for staff development. Deans can use the Teacher Corps project to promote collaboration with public schools and their communities; that is a part of every program.

Finally, deans can use the Teacher Corps project to institutionalize those things that we really need in higher education: A multicultural emphasis, a mainstreaming perspective, and the involvement of minorities in decision-making, in the everyday life of the permanent system of colleges of education.

John Hansen is the director of the Florida State University Teacher Corps Project.

Publish or Perish: Coping with Bilious and Sadistic Editors

Stanley Elam

The Importance of Publishing

My suggestions for educators who wish to publish will be based primarily on my experience as the editor of an education periodical, the *Phi Delta Kappan*. First, I would like to consider the extent and importance of publishing. Most people don't realize how extensive educational publishing is. The Educational Press Association of America publishes a directory of the educational press in the United States and Canada. There are about 1,800 education periodicals listed in that directory. They vary from small occasional newsletters to major publications. Of course, book publishing is a major educational industry. Practically every professional association has at least one (and sometimes several) journal or newsletter. We depend very heavily on publications for communication in education.

Survey the Market

Anyone who aspires to write for education journals should spend a good deal of time in the library just browsing around and becoming familiar with the great variety of publications available. They should go through the current index to journals in education now produced by ERIC. They should also look at some professional publications, like *The Writer's Market*, which lists about 40 education periodicals and provides information about the interests and audiences of each periodical.

The Writer's Market also indicates whether the education journals listed actually pay for their contributions. It is amazing how few of them do. Of the 40 listed, only 20 ever pay—and some of those only occasionally. Some do pay rather well. For example, the *American School Board Journal* never pays less than one hundred dollars for an article, and sometimes it pays up to five hundred dollars. An article in the *Saturday Review* yields more like 750 or even 1,000 dollars. They are, of course, very selective. For instance, *The American School Board Journal* uses only about 20 paid articles a year.

Everything else is staff written. They think that their own staff writers can do a better job of presenting news and information than contributors. Contributions are heavily edited and usually cut in half or less.

Consider the Audience

While surveying the market, prospective writers should also consider the audience of any journal they want to write for. I have been the editor of the *Phi Delta Kappan* for 22 years, and I read approximately 1,200 unsolicited manuscripts every year. I'm speckled with the fly specks of minutiae. You would be surprised at the variety of materials that come to the journal "over the transom"; that is, unsolicited. Many of them are, quite candidly, not relevant to our audience. That tells me something about people who are writing for publication; they are not very selective in targeting their audience. They should know something about any journal before they submit a manuscript to it.

Identifying the audience is, of course, terribly important. For example, suppose you want to publish a research report. There aren't too many research journals that have a broad audience. The AERA, of course, produces about four journals. That is a good outlet for research material. The *Harvard Education Review* runs heavily toward research and is probably the most prestigious journal in the country. You can look in the *Educational Press Directory* under the research category—there are about 36 categories in the *Directory*—and you will find something like 25 or 30 journals whose primary purpose is research reporting.

Then you survey those journals in your library, if you are not familiar with them already. Read the masthead, which will usually give a bit of helpful information. It may, for example, say that inquiries are welcomed by the editor. In that case, your best bet is to contact the editor by telephone, or in a letter, and describe what you have in mind. See if the editor shows any interest.

Don't "Broadcast" an Article

That makes a lot more sense than to simply "broadcast" a manuscript. There are some people, mostly amateurs, who make several copies of an article and ship the manuscript to several editors at the same time. In my editor's mind, that is unethical. I discourage that because I have had some unhappy experiences. At the *Kappan*, we will go ahead and have that article composed if we accept it. We then always send galleys to the author for proofreading. But not all editors do that; some go ahead and use the material without even notifying the author that an article is to be published. That means two (or even more) journals could publish the same article, even perhaps in the same month. It is embarrassing to me if I publish something a month after another editor has already used it. I can't even know it is happening, so I can't give the other journal credit when we reprint the material.

Of course, even before a writer begins to work on a strategy for publishing, he or she should be thinking about the message a prospective article will convey. Don't even consider writing unless you have something worthwhile to say. That something should be very close to your experience; it should be something that you have really devoted time and attention to, something that you are wrapped up in. If you don't have that qualification, there is not much point in writing on a subject.

The Communication Problems of Specialists

That qualification, of course, makes you a specialist, and specialists often have communication problems. A recent *EdPress* newsletter addressed some advice to editors, but that advice applies to authors as well:

> A specialist is an expert, is a scholar, is a partisan. But he is not likely to be a writer. The first thing to recognize is that the specialist is fact-oriented. He is likely to have little sensitivity for audience, and only a rough mastery of words. Because he is

If decisions are solutions in search of problems to which they may attach themselves, then portrayal or case study evaluations and documentations are perhaps the most useful paths to follow as we attempt to assess and describe our successes and failures.

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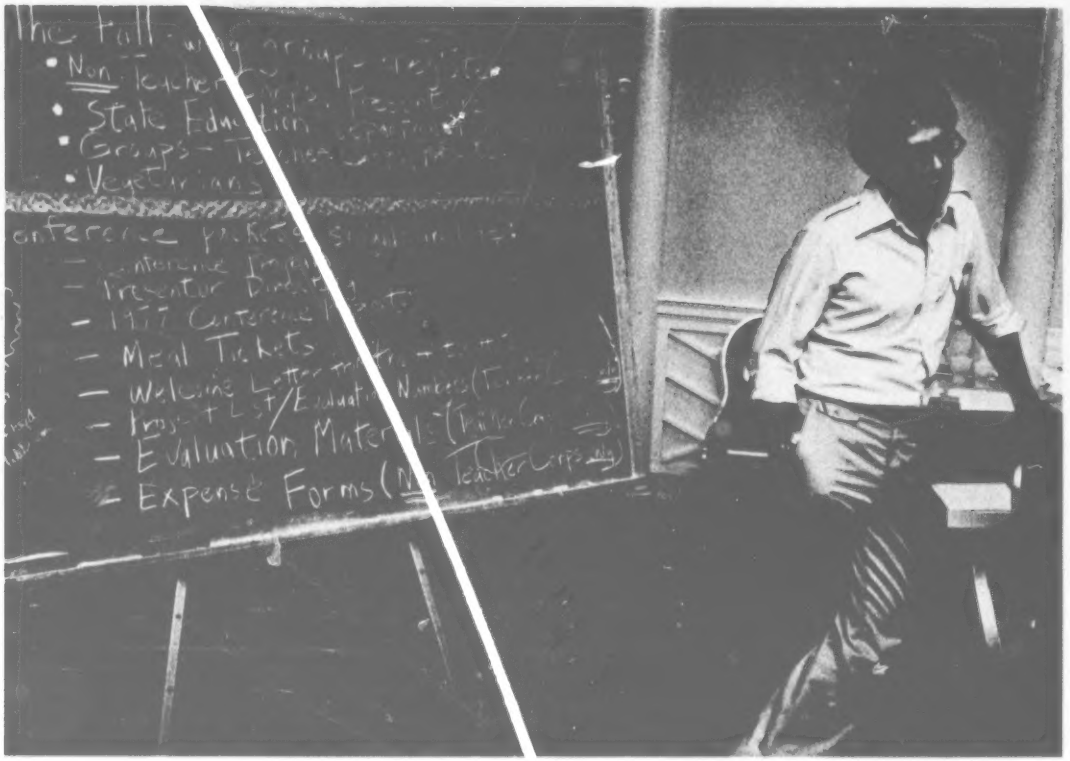


fact-oriented, he packs into his article too many facts, too many figures, too many percentages, too many citations, and usually thinks he doesn't have enough of them. He is as likely to include trivial facts as major data. Concerned with facts, the specialist is often unaware of the reader and his needs or interests . . . Assume almost as a certainty that the opening paragraphs of a specialist's manuscript will be unusable. The lead and the first 100 words or more will present the biggest challenge in editing the specialist's work.

Catch the Reader's Attention—Quickly

In my own experience, I have found that perhaps 50 percent of our unsolicited articles are written by inexperienced writers. I can usually throw away the first two or three pages of those articles. That sounds strange, but it is true. It is caused, at least partly, by the fact that so many of our writers have been through the doctoral experience, and, in doctoral protocol, they always review the literature first. Our authors are likely to back up and take a running start. They go back to the very beginning of their subject and then finally get around to saying something like, "The rate of social change is tremendous." That usually has nothing to do with their message. You find their message in the last page, in the conclusions or the summary.

Readers today want their ideas fast, the way you get them on TV or in the newspapers. That is one of the first principles in communication: If you can't catch the attention of the reader very quickly, you might as well give up. Try to put your principal idea, if not in the first sentence, at least in the first paragraph.

Other Problems

There are other hazards the specialist must overcome in writing for publication. Not only does the specialist fail to write attention-getting openers, but he or she also fails to see the need for them. The specialist begins darkly and in some cases will not

clearly define the topic. In others, the specialist will fail to make the topic come alive for the reader. That writer may plunge into a discussion of minimum competency or cultural pluralism or negative expectations in the classroom without delineating how teachers, students, or administrators are affected by the concepts. In still other cases, the specialist will fail to tell the reader where the article is going and what to expect from the material.

Grammatically, the specialist's language is likely to be correct. He may write, for example, "Completion of the study will be accomplished by the year 1980." That is a correct sentence, having a subject and verb in the proper places. But that is a dry, dull, passive, uninteresting sentence. The editor's job is to find the real subject and the real verb in sentences of that type. These are easier to locate in sentences which are active: "A team will complete the study by 1980." There is something about dissertation and scholarly writing that leads people to write in the passive tense all the time. That is very dry. It is hard to read, and unstimulating. There is a lot to be said for plain, oral-types of communication.

I often respond to authors who have sent us some pompous piece of material by saying, "Forget all about this you have written and explain it the way you would to your closest friends." Once they do that, it is likely to be crystal clear. Manuscripts submitted for publication usually have a lot of mechanical errors, failures of grammar, punctuation, and so on. But worse than that is the fact that so many writers cannot get to the point quickly. They are pompous. They try to make small ideas look big by using jargon. That is what we fight all the time—most of us who are professional editors. Here is a sample of the kind of material we sometimes get in our unsolicited manuscripts:

> I assert that technocratic man in his tired frame of arrogance take a good look at the inherent value in the diversity of mankind and develop a more brotherly philosophy for coexisting on an equal basis if for no other reason than that the biological survival of the total human gene pool needs all the diversity of characteristics that might survive the sorting-out process of the Twenty-first Century.

That is a real gem. That is 69 words; I tried to cut it as an exercise for myself, and came up with these five words: "Human diversity has survival value." I think that is what the author was trying to say; but who would guess it, unless he truly studied that 69-word sentence. It is still not at all logical.

My last point is, be critical of what you write, and rewrite several times. I think almost anyone ought to rewrite three or four times before submitting a manuscript to a journal.

The Chances of Publishing

Our rate of publication at the *Kappan* is about one out of fifteen. We get between 1,200 and 1,300 unsolicited manuscripts each year, and publish about 90 of them. But that doesn't mean many more of the articles were not publishable; we could produce three magazines the size of the *Kappan* out of the material we get—and I don't think we would lose much quality. I am quite honest when I return a manuscript with a note saying, "We simply do not have space for your piece. We like it, but we don't have space for it."

I can't speak for many other journals. I know that *Today's Education* accepts only one or two percent of the articles submitted. But then, they have a huge readership of around two million, and naturally a large number of contributions. There is no way to tell you what the average is; it depends, of course, on the magazine, and no two editors operate in the same fashion. We are all idiosyncratic and develop our own likes, dislikes, pet peeves, and so on.

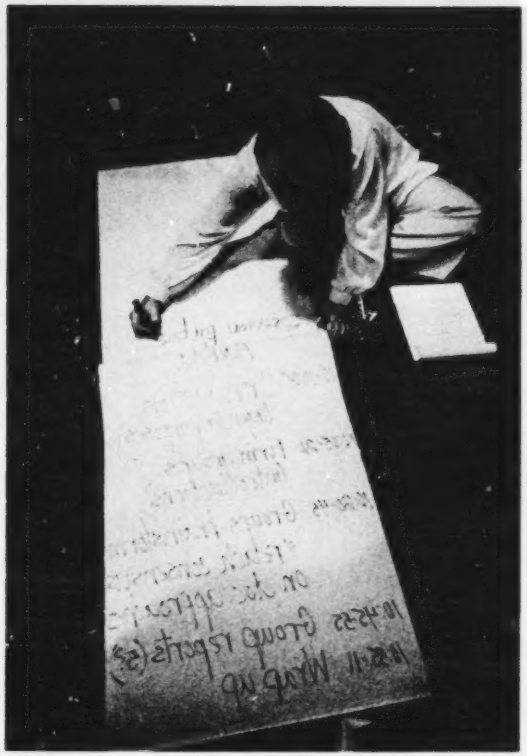
It's Still Publish or Perish

There is no let-up to the publish or perish rule, although some institutions claim they put less emphasis on it. As a whole, for promotional purposes, most institutions depend heavily upon publication as a criterion. Actually, the volume of publishing in education does not seem to fall off much. A few journals disappear, but new ones spring up all the time. Three or four good administrative journals went under in the last ten years. *Nation's Schools* and *School Management* both disappeared. But we have new ones; the National School Boards Association is putting out a new journal this fall. *Learning Magazine* started only eight or ten years ago, and immediately got a circulation of around 225,000, which they have maintained. There are over 100,000 articles used in the 72 major educational journals in this country every year. There is a real market there. I urge you to pursue that market.

Stanley Elam is the editor of the Phi Delta Kappan.

Demonstration: A Compilation of Ideas

Walt Le Baron



Introduction

Demonstration is an elusive concept, but one which is germane to planning for Program 78 Teacher Corps projects. Based on the work of several writers, including the Teacher Corps Task Force on Demonstration, I will here generally survey the recent evolution of the concept. While the general limits and directions of demonstration have been established, the precise nature and purposes for demonstration are not yet clear. Needed clarity will come from operating experience during Program 78 as each project evolves a group of demonstrable elements.

Demonstration as a concept in education implies the design and development of a project based on the results of research; the implementation of creative or innovative ideas within a new environment; endemic changes in the organization; structure and/or delivery of educational services; or the mounting of new or additional resources and services within the context of the educational problem. Demonstration begins with a careful analysis of the environment within which the educational problem exists, a decision about what elements within the environment can be changed and how they can be changed, and then the selection of a preferred solution strategy from among a number of alternatives. These alternatives may be found by importing a strategy developed in another place (e.g., the results of large-scale research efforts), by reorganizing the present educational system (in either minor or major ways), by combining pieces of research and development work from a number of sources, by changing the structure or nature of the problem as originally defined, or by changing the goals or objectives of the system so as to facilitate improved attention to relevant educational aims.

The demonstration may not be a unique idea; rather, its application within the context of a specific environment or problem is original to the setting and issues at hand. The special nature of the demonstration emerges from careful analyses of factors believed important to the success of a new method or strategy, and to the difficulties of embedding innovative strategies with extant institutions. Considerable planning is required to mount the demonstration and must continue throughout the life of the project. The end product of the demonstration would then be either a decision to implement the findings and to broadcast them for use by others, or a report indicating specific factors disallowing the implementation.

Some Purposes of Demonstration

The literature suggests that the term demonstration has been applied to activities which indicate the following kinds of strategies:

- *The Try-Out Strategy.* A product or process is being used under "real life" or actual operating conditions for the first time. Laboratory or ideal conditions are replaced by reality, and data are collected indicating how the reality affects the use of the product/process and its potential viability in generalized sites.
- *The Replication Strategy.* Somewhat similar to the above, this use suggests that a given product or process can be lifted from its development point and placed in a new location.
- *The Selling Strategy.* This strategy emphasizes demonstrations whose purpose is primarily or exclusively selling a process or product. The assumption underlying such demonstrations seems to be that persons cannot become sufficiently familiar with the process or product by reading about it; they must see it in operation.
- *The Information Diffusion Strategy.* This strategy is closely related to the above but may be distinguished by its lack of emphasis on sales and its concentration on making information available to a potential user.
- *The Incentive Strategy.* If a new or improved

technique is demonstrated, there may be sufficient incentive among users to implement the product or process. This strategy is exemplified by the agricultural field-agent approach, but it also underlies much of the federal interest in demonstration.

• *The Replacement Strategy.* The replacement strategy is closely related to the preceding strategy; it is distinct from it only in purpose. In this instance, the assumption is that demonstration of a new technology will lead to the replacement of the older, less effective technology.

Some additional purposes for demonstration may be important for a Teacher Corps project, and an awareness of their presence may be helpful in guiding the development of effective processes. Three such purposes follow:

• *The Resolution of Professional Versus Bureaucratic Energies.* A major problem in the change and development of educational programs is the different orientations of developers, usually viewed as "scientists" (and found in universities), and school people, who are usually viewed as bureaucrats. These two orientations are often in conflict as to philosophical orientation and values. Another way of formulating this problem might be to distinguish the agents of change from the agents of maintenance. The difference between these orientations cannot be sufficiently emphasized when considering problems of social change. A possible resolution is the demonstration project in which the findings of the experts are carefully placed within the institution and operated by the maintainers within some limited context.

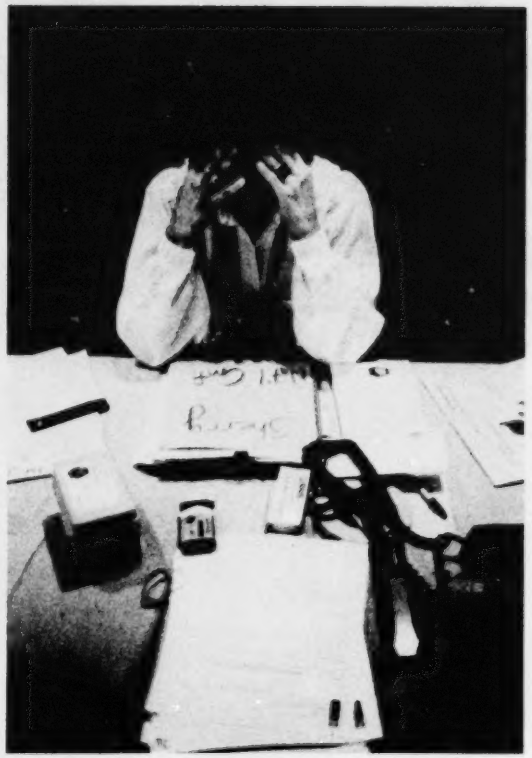
• *Achieving High Impact and/or Visibility from Limited Funds.* There are more potential goods within the context of social needs than can be funded. A project demonstration can be organized to show how institutions can be reorganized to effectively use limited resources, how ineffective program elements can be redesigned to achieve important objectives (despite political resistance to such change), or how replacement can be achieved without the threat of increased costs.

• *Linking Research and Development with Practice.* Demonstration is often thought of as a major step in some sort of process which begins with research and ends with institutionalization of an innovative or new development. Recent research, however, has established that the process is not neat; that various of the steps in the process repeat or must be reiterated so that demonstration, as one step, may include additional research or development work. Nevertheless, it is still useful to think in terms of some linking of the development process with the operation process.

The Teacher Corps Task Force on Demonstration made the point that the Teacher Corps will, at a national level, have great difficulty in defining any training strategy in specific terms and controlling the implementation of that strategy at various project sites. Not only is it difficult to get professional agreement on the definitions, but it would also probably require a different funding procedure in order to support more central control than Teacher Corps has exercised.

The Task Force on Demonstration has also suggested that the participants in local projects be responsible for the data to be collected for demonstration. There are two reasons for this suggestion. First, there are just too many benefits that can be gained from public reflection by participants about their own programmatic efforts. Second, demonstration for staff adaptation requires that the participants have a clear grasp of and ownership in the information collected in order to communicate features of their program to others.

Responsibility for data analysis, on the other hand, could be shared between local projects, Teacher Corps-Washington staff, and possibly some outside consultant assistance. Again, it would be beneficial to the project to have ultimate responsibility for the analysis and interpretation of the project features to be demonstrated. Nevertheless,



The essential underlying issue in documentation is this: Documentation is for making value judgments. There is no way to avoid it. What documentation does, however, is to allow educators and other professionals to underwrite and to validate what is taking place in a particular program. Values are of tremendous importance. Documentation should not be viewed as simply a matter of keeping sterile quantitative records. The qualitative issues—the values that are inherent in a program—can only be described through adequate documentation. That is our responsibility—and I believe it is our promise.

Francis Ianni
Columbia University

the analyses and interpretations would gain from the different perspectives of Teacher Corps-Washington staff and from outside consultants (including, possibly, potential users). Moreover, it would be absolutely necessary if demonstrations were being used for policy formulation or policy implementation at the national level.

The Structure of Demonstration

It is clear from all the definitions of demonstration that it represents a deliberate, planned activity established to achieve one or more purposes. A demonstration, by definition, cannot be an after-the-fact conclusion related to a project activity. Such findings may be useful for some other purposes, and they may answer questions similar to those addressed by demonstration. But the rules of evidence are different. This stance does not exclude the meaning and value of unexpected outcomes; rather, it provides a framework for understanding both the intended direction and variances from it.

The demonstration within a Teacher Corps project, however, is not an untested intervention. It is a "real world" event based on results achieved through controlled research, development, or theory-building activities. The measure of effect on the event, because of tensions and pressures from its real-world environment, is the first kind of information to be learned through demonstration. In this learning process, the event may be changed, modified, or redirected. Faulty aspects of design become evident, as do the event's effects on its environment. None of these things can happen in *post facto* planning contexts. Criteria of success must thus be predetermined and measured.

The Audiences for Demonstration

The exact nature of the demonstration audience will depend on the type of demonstration; from a general perspective, however, four audiences should be identified for any Teacher Corps demonstration activity. Information should be collected and reported in terms of the needs of the following audiences:

- *Institutions Mounting the Demonstration.* The first audience of a demonstration will be the project group itself and the institutions which support the demonstration. Change affects the demonstration and the institution, and each will be affected by the other. Any demonstration represents a determination about what factors must be part of the system (hence, controlled) in order to predict success and what factors can remain part of the environment. Conditions for mounting the demonstration will affect the outcomes, and are critical to the process of the activity. Especially relevant in this respect are the political realities under which a demonstration must operate. For all of these reasons, the first audience of interest to the sponsors of a demonstration must be the client institutions.
- *Institutions with Similar Needs.* Demonstration sites may be selected by Teacher Corps because the site is similar to a large number of conditions (or institutions) requiring improvement. For example, an urban school serving a relatively well-defined population under relatively well-defined circumstances may be assumed to be similar to other schools having the same or similar conditions. A demonstration in one such site should be useful to all schools in similar conditions because it will supply information about the products, processes, and organizational changes which are required by consumers of the change. In this respect, the demonstration is a prototype which, if successful, may be transported widely.
- *Populations of Similar Professional Interest.* A demonstration may provide information of interest to those who share a particular professional problem. Unlike the audience above, however, these individuals would belong to institutions having conditions different from the demonstration site. They would, nevertheless, have a considerable interest in the outcome of the demonstration as a possible direction or solution to some issue or problem.
- *Other Audiences.* Demonstrations in a specific problem area are of general interest to the field of education, to planners and policy-makers, and to the public at-large. This group should have access to the specific conditions of the demonstration, but reports of a general-interest nature should also be aimed at planners or policy-makers.

Conclusion

The development of a demonstration policy for Teacher Corps has been a demanding and challenging task. It may be anticipated that policy will change on the basis of Program 78 experience. For the most part, the questions related to demonstration remain either unanswered or subject to debate. This is a healthy situation, for when a new and exciting idea emerges, it should be treated with the respect which comes from widely varying opinion and discussion.

Walt LeBaron is an educational consultant based in Edwards, Missouri.

Planning for Institutionalization

Paul Collins

Institutionalization: More than an Educational Problem

The process of institutionalization is not an educational problem. It is a socio-political, anthropological communications problem. It is a complex of disciplines working in concert to address the question of how to impact institutions in meaningful, positive, and lasting ways. When I went to the Office of Education as a consultant seven years ago, I had the privilege of serving on something called the Educational Renewal Task Force. We were engaged in examining the processes that the Office of Education could support to begin a renewal effort in the public schools and in colleges of teacher education. While we were working, we constantly used words like "validated" and "tested" to describe educational processes and products.

We envisoned processes, practices, and products which were available to everyone in the field, things they could pick off the shelves and use. When I wrote I used those terms, but I finally asked the leader of this task force if I could see some of those products. I wanted to touch them, to turn their pages, to see films, or whatever. I wanted to go to a school and see them in action. It turned out that they didn't exist. Those "validated" and "tested" processes and products were random. There was no storehouse of "tested", "validated" educational products that could be used as tools for educational renewal. They were a figment of the imagination.

Does It Exist?

When I hear the word "institutionalization", I have the same feeling as when I was disillusioned seven years ago. I wonder if institutionalization really exists. Are we actually engaged in institutionalization of our processes and practices? Are our products installed and institutionalized? I have visited many Teacher Corps projects, I have listened to my fellow network Executive Secretaries, and I have looked at the projects in New York State—projects that I have tried to facilitate toward institutionalization. My view is that there is very little institutionalization in most Teacher Corps projects. I could be wrong. I would like to be proven wrong, but I think institutionalization is rare. And if rarity would be a criterion for value, institutionalization would be a priceless commodity.

There are good reasons for the rarity of institutionalization. Complex political issues impinge upon our efforts as educators to institutionalize. Most educators are not trained to manage socio-political educational reform processes. They are trained in other areas. It is not that we do not have high-level skills in education. But, as educators, very often we are not equipped with the skills that are demanded of us in programs like the Teacher Corps. Sometimes we don't have the requisite managerial skills. Sometimes we don't have the planning skills. Sometimes we don't have the interdisciplinary knowledge of sociology, anthropology, and political science, all of which are interrelated and necessary when looking at the institutionalization process.

The Need for Planning

Planning is necessary if we are going to systematically institutionalize the results of Teacher Corps projects. David Ewing, from the Harvard School of Business, ten years ago wrote about what he called some laws of good planning. In *The Human Side of Planning*, Ewing said that planning, while addressing the major goals, should also be incomplete. If you over-plan, he said, you have no flexibility with which to meet contingencies, to meet unexpected developments. People resist plans which are too fully developed. Such plans leave no room in which to cooperate. Over-planning violates our principles of collaboration.

Another of Ewing's laws of planning is that planning is continuous, since plans are out of date as soon as they are put into effect. Good plans are

high-risk plans, and they often fail. But without the risk and commitment to experiment, planning activities have no vibrancy. Good planning, in fact, creates an anti-planning syndrome among the colleagues whom planners are trying to impact. Planning creates a certain degree of suspicion, since we equate planning with an attempt to program others.

There are other reasons for the anti-planning syndrome. There are the traditional reasons of institutional lag. There is the tendency for people to engage in routine leadership, leadership which is threatened because planning efforts inherently suggest that leaders do things somewhat differently. There is the tendency to say, "The new plan is not inventive, and we don't want anything to do with it." And there is the belief suggested by a phrase we often hear in the Teacher Corps: "We're doing that already."

Too often, planners and managers of social reform fail to deal with the suspicions of others; the best way to deal with those suspicions is to run an open system. Without collaboration and cooperation from members of the team and others who are targets of impact, progress will be severely restricted.

Cooperation and Collaboration

Finally, the inability to delegate authority is often counterproductive to lasting change — institutionalization. That point leads to an observation I have had about Teacher Corps leaders for a long time: They are afflicted with a widespread but nonexistent disease called "indispensableitis". If we cannot delegate authority, if we cannot create teams and teaming efforts, we will not achieve our institutionalization goals. When we think of teaming, we must think of a mini-system. Teaming is a structure of interacting components that operate both individually and jointly to achieve a common goal. That means we must operate open, cooperative, collaborative systems. People have to interact; they must look upon themselves as a collective unit which is working toward a common goal.

In order to work toward common goals, we need common language. Such language enables us to describe and to communicate to others what we are trying to do. If we cannot report on our activities with a common language, we cannot communicate to one another. Wittgenstein, the Viennese semanticist, once argued that the limits of a person's language are the limits of that person's understanding. I have a corollary: "If you can't describe it, you may not know what you are doing." That's serious business. When we document, we have to be able to use common language, and perhaps even a common format for reporting our institutionalization successes and failures.

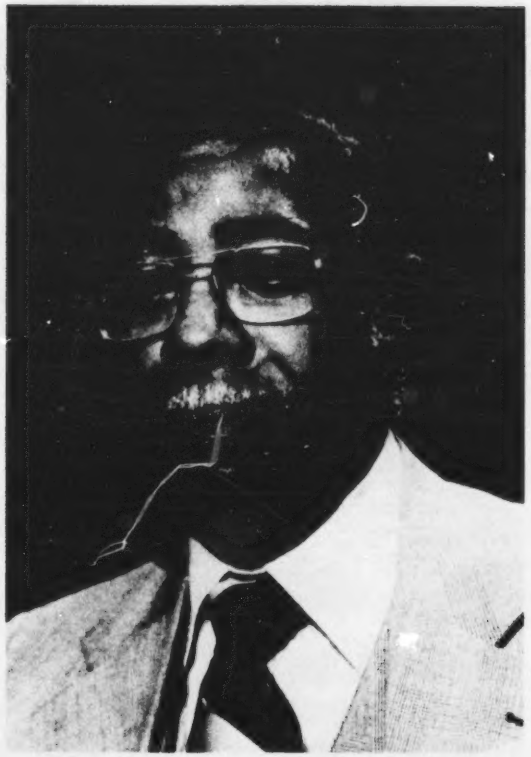
The Institutionalization Continuum

Finally, when we consider institutionalization, we must recognize that it is the bedrock upon which a project should be evaluated. Good documentation of the institutionalization process leads directly to demonstration readiness. Institutionalization can begin on the first day of a project. Documentation can begin on the first day of a project. Project components do not all move at the same pace. They move at different paces. We must capitalize on those critical elements in projects that look promising, those that have great potential. We must practice our institutionalization skills in those components. People develop those muscles which they use most often, and if we don't use our institutionalization muscles, they are going to wither. And if our institutionalization muscles wither, we will all find ourselves back where I was seven years ago: Searching for something intangible—something that did not exist.

Paul Collins is the Executive Secretary of the New York State Teacher Corps Network.

Organizational Theory and Institutionalization

James Tanner



No Easy Matter

Institutionalization is a hard word to write. It can also be a difficult word to say. And it is certainly a hard task to accomplish. Nonetheless, it is an over-arching concept that ought to pervade our efforts in the matter of educational reform. Institutionalizing means being able to walk away from a new way of doing things, a new set of organizational imperatives, a new pliant system. Those new imperatives, that new system, mean changes in organizations, in schools, in colleges, and in communities. The process of making those changes and then leaving them behind for others within the organization to continue—that is institutionalization.

How Can We Tell?

Institutionalization has occurred when the change that we are working toward has become *a regular feature of the culture of the organization.* Such changes may be in the nature of the way an organization operates, the way its functions are carried out, or in the behavior of the individuals in that organization. For our purposes, the institutionalization of project components can be determined by the application of several criteria. First, institutionalization has occurred when the change that you seek is understood and accepted as an operating feature by the regular members of the organization. Second, a component can be said to be institutionalized when it is supported by the norms of the permanent system; that is, when the organizational code of behavior (which is usually unwritten) supports the presence of a particular change. Third, a component is institutionalized when it is officially recognized as belonging to the organization; that is, when those who are supposed to be in charge accept it and recognize the change as part of their roles within the organization. For example, a change at the collegiate level is institutionalized when it appears in the course catalogue, if, beyond appearing there, it is also applied by the permanent members of the college.

Fourth, a component is institutionalized when there is budgetary provision for its continuation. When there is space, when there is location, when there is money, when there is staff, a component is institutionalized. When the new way of behaving, the new structure, the new organizational patterns, the new settled processes—when they are endorsed, supported, and promoted by those with power, authority, or influence in the organization—then the component is institutionalized. If the people who have to sign-off on the budget endorse the change, if they think it is good, if they embrace it as their own (even to the point of excluding the person who installed it), then the change is institutionalized.

In considering the achievement of institutionalization, we must consider people at varying levels. If the person who cleans up the place endorses the change and understands it sufficiently to tell other people about it, it has been institutionalized. If knowledgeable clients of the organization identify the change, the new way of doing things, the new organizational structure, the new set of processes, the new way of carrying out a certain program; if knowledgeable clients recognize it as a feature of the organization, then it has been institutionalized.

The Process of Institutionalization

Institutionalization, then, is the process by which a component becomes part of the regular culture of the target organization. Institutionalization is represented by the stage at which a new or a different way of operating is clearly discernable and the structures and processes are integral to patterns of behavior in the organization.

Essential Factors for Institutionalization

There are several factors which are essential for the accomplishment of institutionalization; in discussing those factors, I will refer to organizational concepts which may promote or inhibit the accomplishment

of institutionalization. First, there must be available appropriate resources. In other words, there must be people available who are capable of addressing the institutionalization goals. Second, the target change must be consistent with laws and regulations. If the law or regulations will not allow the change to happen, chances are that it cannot be institutionalized. You may be able to experiment, but it cannot become a permanent and regular part of the operating, ongoing culture if it is incompatible with existing laws and regulations. A related point: The change must be compatible with (or must consider) the norms and values of the community where the change is attempted.

This point relates to community values, environmental features, and attitudes toward the organization. How do the people who use the organization feel about the organization and the component which is to be institutionalized? Do they believe that the organization—or the change—is in their best interests? Are they willing to support it when the budget crunch comes? Are the clients willing to support this organization over another which is supported by the same source of revenue?

Another critical factor to institutionalization is the state-of-the-art in relevant domains. Is it the kind of thing that has been done elsewhere? Can you show an example of where it happened?

Organizational Climate

Next, we must consider the climate of the organization in which we wish to institutionalize a new practice. Is the climate such that change is encouraged, or are people afraid of change; do they perhaps feel they must do whatever the boss thinks they ought to do? Are there similar precedents for the proposed institutionalization activities? That suggests that one needs to know the history of similar efforts before attempting to institutionalize a component.

Influence and Decision-Making

The process of institutionalization seems to involve having influence upon the decision-making structure of an organization. Those who make the decisions must be influenced. They must be helped to understand, to accept, to recognize the validity of a new component and its institutionalization. That means those who wish to institutionalize must understand who makes decisions, the process of decision-making, and how to influence decisions.

Role Sets

Such influence is most effectively exerted through key role sets in the organization. Very often, we assume that the organizational chart is of prime importance to understanding an organization. We assume that the organizational chart represents the places where decisions are made and work gets done in the organization. We assume that chart represents the way and the point at which we ought to exert influence. And perhaps it does. But I question very seriously whether that is the case in most organizations. Instead, I would suggest that we must deal with role sets.

Role sets are represented by that constellation of relationships which a particular individual has within an organization by virtue of occupying a particular position in that organization. At the center of every role set—and everyone has a number of role sets in an organization—is a role incumbent. A role incumbent is a key person. That person is a key because of what he or she does; in a school, it may be a principal, or a teacher, or the leader of the teacher's association, or a department chairperson. At the college level, a role incumbent may be the dean or the department chairperson, a senior professor, or an influential scholar-in-residence.

A key role incumbent receives messages from a variety of role senders. Role senders may be subordinates, peers, or superordinates. Those individuals send messages to the role incumbent in a number of

ways. For example, they may ask a question beginning, "What do you intend to do about . . ." That's a message. A role expectation is being transmitted, and role incumbents have to take that message into consideration as they carry out their functions. Role incumbents ask themselves, "What are the messages being sent? Are they compatible with my perception of the functions of this job? What resources do I have at my disposal to act on the message?" The way in which the role incumbent will function is determined by how that person screens all of these messages and filters them against his or her own set of values and interpretation of the norms of the institution.

In addition to messages from within the organization, the role incumbent gets clues as to how he ought to perform from clients and other important individuals. When the role incumbent filters all these messages, he behaves accordingly. Role set does not refer to the people who have similar titles; it does not mean a job-alike group; it does not mean a role category; it refers to the constellation of relationships in which a key person receives role expectations from those with whom he interacts on a fairly regular basis.

Influence can most effectively be exerted in an organization by impacting upon key people within role sets. It should also be noted that there are a number of role sets; everyone in an organization has role sets. Thus, learning whose messages have real impact upon decision-makers is a prerequisite to exerting real influence.

Norms and Motivation

A component, to be institutionalizable must accord with the norms of the organization. Very simply, a component that you want to institutionalize must not conflict with what is permissible in that organization; that refers to norms. As regards motivational patterns, there must be something of incentive value in the component for the permanent members of the organization. Thus, those who work toward institutionalization must be aware of what makes organization members want to do things. You must help them to see that the change helps to move them forward, helps them to become more effective. If an institutionalization component does not address organizational norms and motivations, the chances are that it is not going to happen.

Communication

Next, communication plays a critical role in institutionalization. Information about the change proposed for institutionalization must be encoded. That is, it must be described in language that neither threatens nor demeans the intended user in the permanent system. That is extremely important. Some of us like to show how knowledgeable we are by refusing ever to use a two syllable word when a five syllable word is available. That is the best way to turn off the people whom you want to use the new component; the emperor's new clothes syndrome will not allow them to say they don't know what you're talking about. The fact is, however, that new users probably will not understand what you are saying, particularly if you do not make your message simple and clear. Thus, you must not confuse them with your terminology or demean them by making it appear you are making things so simple that even a fifth grader could understand—though you sometimes must do that. You must also not demean those in the organization by referring to present practices in derogatory terms.

Those who are involved in the institutionalization process will also need access to—and ability to effectively use—the communication subsystem of the organization. It is not enough simply to expect that notes in the dean's newsletter will be sufficient. It is not enough to expect that the principal's bulletin will be effective in disseminating information about what you want to do. The communications subsystem involves places like faculty lounges and other informal gathering places. Skill in using the communications subsystem—and that includes iden-

Documentation is not the responsibility of a single person. It is a team responsibility. All those working in a Teacher Corps project share that responsibility and must work together to fulfill the documentation mandate.

William L. Smith
Teacher Corps—Washington

tifying the key intersecting points in that subsystem—is critical to institutionalization.

Conflict

We must also consider conflict as we plan for institutionalization. Conflict is that condition which occurs where there is discordance within, between, or among individuals, groups, or organizations in relation to one or another of the following: goals, values, means, status, or perceptions. Virtually any change proposed for an organization can lead to conflict. If the people just are not going to accept the change, the institutionalization process is in trouble. Anytime anyone starts something new, there is always the possibility of conflict, of discord, of lack of agreement. And that is particularly true when people feel their functions may be threatened. When people are threatened, they react. They may try to make it obvious that you are a threat to the people who control the organization, or they may suggest that the change is less than beneficial, if not downright worthless. Thus, those who are institutionalizing must be able to predict, to identify, to predetermine where conflict is likely to arise; they must have skills in resolving conflict in order to institutionalize.

Slippage

Next, let us deal with slippage. Slippage is that distortion which occurs as policy and/or information is transmitted within the organizational structure. In other words, what you start out with may be quite clear to you, but by the time it has gone through a number of filters in the formal and informal communication systems, chances are it isn't the same as you intended it to be. Thus, the continued active involvement of persons knowledgeable about the content of both the proposed change and the workings of the organization is essential in order to reduce to a minimum the slippage that is likely to occur during the institutionalization process. You must deal with people who are knowledgeable about what you are trying to do. If you do not deal with people and include them in on your planning and operations, slippage is likely to occur in considerable measure.

Power, Authority, Influence

Like the other organizational concepts which I have mentioned, power, authority, and influence will also affect the success of institutionalization. Influence, as I have said, is the ability to affect the decision-making process. Authority is the right to direct the behavior of others, and to do so on the basis of position. And power is the capacity to require specified behavior. Those organizational concepts are at the heart of change in institutions. Change—and the institutionalization of change—cannot occur without the support of those who have power, authority, and influence. It should also be pointed out that those with influence do not always have the authority through which institutionalization can be achieved. But influence is extremely important, since those with influence can impact upon the decisions made by those in positions of actual power or authority.

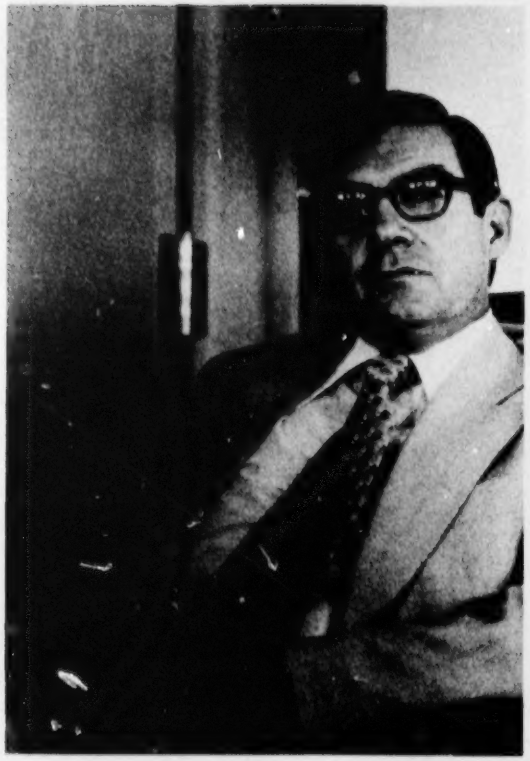
Conclusion

The concepts which I have described here can be extremely useful to educators and others who wish to promote changes in the institutions in which they work. The institutionalization of those changes can very frequently hinge on concepts such as communication, role sets, decision-making, and influence. An understanding of those concepts and their impact on the people and processes which make up institutions can aid the institutionalization process as we seek to improve teacher education and the school experience of children.

James Tanner is Assistant Superintendent for Curriculum and Instruction in the Cleveland Public School System.

Opportunities for Institutional Development: A Teacher Corps Fringe Benefit

J.T. Sandefur



The Dean as Program Development Leader

A Teacher Corps project, especially a Program 78 project, offers colleges and departments of education some tremendous program development opportunities, opportunities that may revitalize or even reform teacher education. I want to offer seven brief suggestions for the role that Teacher Corps deans may play in program development. First, the dean must supply leadership in determining the needs and directions of the college or department of education. It is absolutely essential that the dean supply the leadership which will help staff members to determine the specific needs of the institution and the consequent direction of that institution in the immediate future. It is highly unlikely that a Teacher Corps project, or any project, can significantly affect a school of education that does not know where it wants to go. That, of course, implies that deans should not only carefully read the Teacher Corps proposal, but also should help to determine the needs and directions that the proposal and the project itself will address. It is also important in that process for the dean to supply the opportunity for the faculty to feel ownership in the program development effort, specifically in the project goals and objectives and in the strategies used to achieve those outcomes.

Regular Faculty Development

My second suggestion concerns involvement of the "regular" faculty in Teacher Corps projects. The dean should insist that regular faculty members be involved in the planning of a Teacher Corps project. That is so because change is more likely to occur if that change comes from within the permanent system of the university. I am advocating that we use regular faculty members in the development of the Teacher Corps project. Those regular faculty members can be replaced by those supported by federal money for a period of time, after which regular faculty members may return to their regular assignments. That strategy is necessary if the primary goal of the project is to institutionalize the changes that occur as a result of Teacher Corps support.

The Project as a Change Vehicle

My third suggestion is to use the project as a vehicle for change. Deans must use Teacher Corps projects as an opportunity to establish "think tanks" in which new ideas can germinate and grow outside of traditional modes of thinking. Deans can use Teacher Corps resources to brainstorm, to interact, to make it possible for people to move back and forth between project activities and the regular activities of the institution. I would suggest that we do that.

Fourth, I would suggest that deans provide systems to reward the people who participate in program development in a Teacher Corps project. Deans must make it desirable for faculty members to be a part of the Teacher Corps effort; that means providing recognition, release time for development, and other institutional rewards that will help us refute the notion that the Teacher Corps project is outside the mainstream of institutional activities. It should be made evident that the Teacher Corps project is a high priority with the dean, and that involvement with the project will be appropriately rewarded.

My fifth suggestion is that deans establish lines of communication between those in the program development activity and the other members of the faculty. There are many techniques which a dean can use to initiate such communication linkages within the faculty. They are certainly important.

Support Systems

Sixth, I would suggest that the dean establish some formal support system for program development efforts that are being introduced in the project. The most common criticism of any federal project is the fact that frequently the project itself—or the innovation it inspired—disappears when funding expires.

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The dean must make an effort to see that the faculty members who worked in the project reenter the permanent system and then practice their new skills and implement the new program as a part of the mainstream institutional activity. Deans must be sure that the necessary structures exist to permit new programs and new practices to survive. The Teacher Corps is truly an excellent avenue to program development and improvement; it certainly merits the dean's careful attention.

J.T. Sandefur is President of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education and Dean of the College of Education at Western Kentucky University.

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Institutionalization: Obstacles to Overcome

Ron Petrie

Introduction

Institutionalization is a very broad concept. As regards that concept, one of the big problems in Teacher Corps projects is the fact that sometimes we are several years into a project before we figure out what it is that we intend to institutionalize. At our institution, we have concentrated on the institutionalization of inservice education programs for the public schools. Our field-centered training complex has provided continuing professional development for educators. Our staff has worked with the total staff of the school. We are confident that our approaches are effective, but have faced some real barriers to institutionalization of those approaches in the institution of higher education.

Field-Based Approaches: The Need for Responsiveness

First among those barriers, college faculty do not know how to deliver training in the field—nor do they understand that field-based delivery process. We have been trying for the last two years to involve faculty members in that process in the public schools. We have held a series of retreats and have worked in a variety of different ways to try to make the regular university faculty more responsive to that type of an approach. If I said to you that we had accomplished that feat, I would be telling a lie. We have not. We have a small cadre of more responsive professors, and we hope to develop 15 or 20 more such people who can work with adjunct faculties in the public schools and become part of the field-based instructional team. But right now, we are facing the barrier of faculty resistance.

The Reward System

Another barrier to institutionalization and institutional change is the traditional university reward system of promotion and tenure. Our school of education just lost a department head who was one of the best field instructors available, but who was denied tenure because our administration felt that he didn't publish enough in professional journals. That happens repeatedly. The whole business of promotion and tenure gets in the way of doing an effective job, of developing a staff that is field-centered in its nature and in its operation.

Faculty Resistance

Faculty resistance is another factor that inhibits university change. The only professors who get positive feedback are those who stay on-campus, who sit in their offices and write articles and get published. For that reason, faculty members resist going out into the field. But the other reason that they resist going out into the field is their own insecurity, the insecurity of not really knowing how to work with a process model of inservice education which is responsive to school needs and desires.

Funding and Finance

Another area that inhibits institutional change is funding and finance. If we are ever going to grow from reliance on the Teacher Corps to independent and effective ways of working in the public schools, we are going to have to get funding from a variety of sources. That may mean funding on the basis of student credit hours, from state funds, or from hard-line university monies. School districts should also pay for the kinds of training they desire. Certainly funding and finances are at the core of institutional change. If a university cannot identify other systems for support over time, innovations will disappear once federal funding expires.

University Staff Development

One of the other things that inhibits university change is an effective strategy for retraining faculty members. We have used a series of retreats, and we have used the Teacher Corps project and the regional Teacher Corps network to provide retraining for faculty members. But we have to develop more effective strategies than the standard two-day

faculty retreat. That is helpful, but it doesn't really solve the problem in terms of provoking lasting changes.

The need to provoke lasting changes is, of course, what institutionalization is all about. And if that is to happen in our colleges of education, we must deal with the barriers inherent in our reward systems, in faculty resistance to change, in problems of finance, and in the need for university staff development. Those are not easy barriers to overcome, nor is institutionalization easy. But we must overcome those barriers and we must institutionalize.

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